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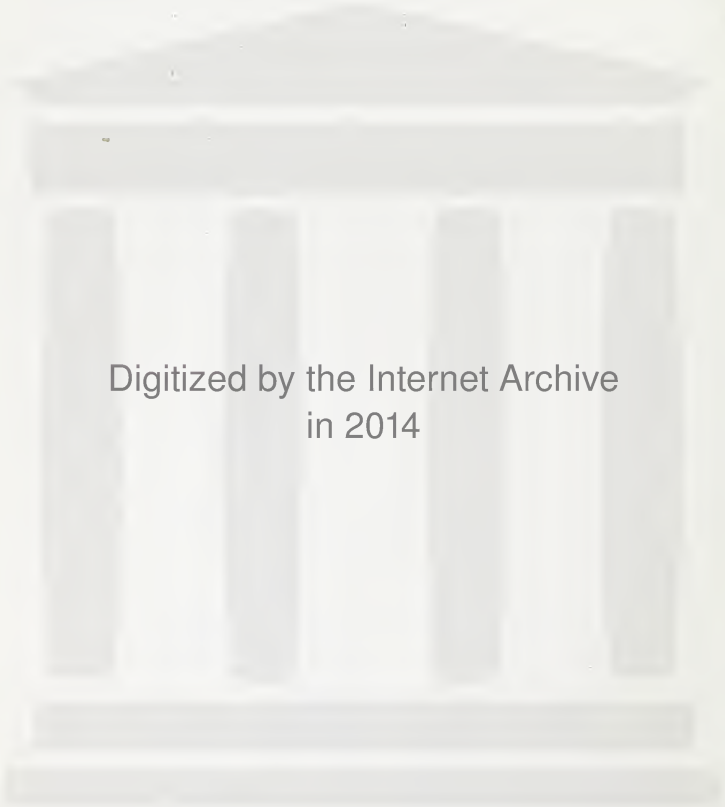
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LANCASHIRE MEMORIALS

OF

THE REBELLION,

MDCCXV.

I. INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF PARTIES IN LANCASHIRE PRECEDING THE REBELLION.

II. LANCASHIRE DURING THE REBELLION OF 1715, COMPRISING A DETAIL OF THE EVENTS OF THAT MOVEMENT, AS COLLECTED FROM SCARCE AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

THE STATE OF PARTIES

IN

LANCASHIRE

BEFORE THE REBELLION

OF 1715:

AN INQUIRY INTRODUCTORY TO THE PUBLICATION OF CERTAIN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THIS PERIOD.

BY

SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

MDCCCXLV.

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PREFACE.

MANY years ago the author, while preparing a work connected with the History of Lancashire, was under the necessity of studying the extraordinary quantity of books, pamphlets, &c., which were published in this county during the stirring events of 1745. Finding, however, that no little portion of these controversial writings was unintelligible to him, from his ignorance of the previous position of the parties more or less concerned in this movement, he instituted an inquiry, of which the following treatise, in an expanded form, is the result.

This trifle would never have been submitted to the Chetham Society, if the author had not been called upon to edit a most curious collection of original, and very scarce documents relative to the Insurrection of 1715, of which the Rebellion of 1745 was merely the sequel.

In the course of this labour, however, the author has now and then detected himself treading upon rather delicate ground, owing to the necessity he was under of explaining certain party views and principles which a few years ago had been considered obsolete, but which have recently undergone some little revival. Under these circumstances, therefore, he must disclaim any object whatever imbued with an unworthy party spirit, and perfectly foreign to the views of the Chetham Society. His sole and

exclusive aim has been to furnish an useful guide, explanatory of the strange events recorded in the historical collections which he is preparing for publication.

Of the mode in which this inquiry has been conducted, some brief explanation may be given.

In treating of Whig and Tory distinctions,—certainly not to be identified with the distinctions of modern parties, who have rather unwarrantably usurped those time-honoured names,—the author has been chiefly indebted to a large folio work of the Trial of Sacheverell, published by Tonson in 1710, and bound up with numerous other documents relative to the same great national event. In this legislative proceeding, posterity will read the most instructive documents extant of the learning employed at that time in supporting Whig and Tory arguments. Nor is the impassioned, and even vulgar, discourse of the preacher himself, the object of a state prosecution, less worthy of attention, as exhibiting the mode in which High Church Toryism was popularized, so as to eventually lead to riot and rebellion.

Other sources of information have been afforded from a pretty extensive perusal of the disputes, both in and out of Parliament, relative to such Whig and Tory questions as grew out of the Revolution of 1688, as well as of the pamphlets and other publications of party writers, which appeared during the successive reigns of William the Third, Anne, and George the First.

S. Hibbert Ware.

Edinburgh, *February* 1. 1845.

CONTENTS.

Page

CHAP. I.—WHIG AND TORY DISTINCTIONS, ... 1

(a) The Opposite Doctrines of the Whigs and Tories, briefly stated, ib.

(b) Opposite Opinions on the Origin of Whig or Tory Doctrines, 2

(c) The Tory Doctrine, an Apostolic Precept, . . . 4

(d) The Qualifying Sense under which the Whigs received the Apostolic Precept, ... ib.

(e) The Tory Doctrine first taught in England by the Reformers, 6

(f) The Whig Doctrine taught by Expounders of the Civil Laws, 7

(g) The Comparative Degree of Progress made by Whig and Tory Principles, ... 9

(h) The Tory Doctrine taught in Lancashire, . . . 10

(i) The Ascendancy of the Whig Principle during the Revolution of 1688, ... 11

(k) The Tory Embarrassments which succeeded to the Revolution, 12

(l) "A King de facto," and "a King de jure," . . 13

(m) Influence of Tory Principles in the Rebellion of 1715, . 14

(n) Concluding Remarks on Whig and Tory Contentions, . 15

CHAP. II.—THE PRESBYTERIANS, PARTICULARLY OF LANCASHIRE, . 17

(a) The Puritans distinguished for their aversion to Popish Tenets, ib.

(b) The Presbyterians were the legitimate successors of the Puritans, 18

(c) The Persecuting Spirit of the Presbyterians towards the Roman Catholics, ... 19

(d) Presbyterianism checked by the rise of the Independents, . ib.

(e) The Downfall of English Presbyterianism as a State Religion, 20

(f) The English Presbyterians, although persecuted, do not relax in their activity against the Roman Catholics, . . ib.

(g) The Presbyterians attached to the Whig Principles of the Revolution, ... 21

Page

CHAP. III.—THE ROMAN CATHOLICS, ... 23

1st, The Ancient Loyalty of the Roman Catholics to the House of Stuart, ... ib.

2d, The dislike felt by the Roman Catholics towards Whigs and Presbyterians, in common, ... 26

3dly, The Attachment of the Roman Catholics to the Tories, . 28

Concluding Observations on the Roman Catholics, . . 29

CHAP. IV.—THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES, PARTICULARLY OF LANCASHIRE, AND THEIR LOW CHURCH OPPONENTS, . . . 31

(a) In the first place—The uncompromising Support Given by High Church to the Tory Precept, as an Authoritative Ecclesiastical Principle, ... 32

(b) In the second place—The Antiquity, and Independent Authority of the Church of England, contended for by the High Church Tories, ... 35

(c) In the third place—The Resistance of High Church to the comprehension of Dissenters within the Pale of Her Communion, 37

(d) In the fourth place—The Opinion of High Church that in a Religion of the State, such as that of the Church of England, Civil Offices cannot be held except by such as are in the Pale of Her Communion;—whence the Opposition of High Church to the occasional conformity of the Dissenters, . . 39

(e) The occasional difficulty of distinguishing between High and Low Church, ... 43

(f) Queen Anne's Principles referred to Low Church, . . ib.

(g) The Principles of Dr Wroe, Warden of Manchester College, referred to those of Low Church, ... 44

(h) Low Church distinguish themselves from High Church, in their Aversion to any Intercourse whatever with the Roman Catholics, ... 45

CHAP. V.—THE CO-OPERATION OF HIGH CHURCH TORIES WITH ROMAN CATHOLICS, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN LANCASHIRE, . . . 47

CHAP. VI.—THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PRESBYTERIAN JACOBITES OF SCOTLAND WERE AFFECTED TOWARDS THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES OF ENGLAND, WITH WHOM THEY WERE ENGAGED IN THE INSURRECTION OF 1715, ... 50

(a) Toryism introduced among the Scots, . . . 51

Page

(b) Declaration against the Union, and the Right of James VIII. to the Crown of Scotland asserted, . . . 51

(c) The Difficulty of the Scottish Presbyterians in declaring for a Popish Prince, ... 52

(d) The Difficulty of the Scottish Presbyterians in co-operating with the English Roman Catholics, . . . 53

(e) The Scottish Presbyterians in alliance with the High Church Tories of England, ... ib.

(f) The Whig Government, including English Presbyterians, as one United Party, arrayed against the Scottish Presbyterians, the Roman Catholics, and the High Church Tories, as another Confederate Party, ... 54

Chap. VII.—The Toryism of the Rebellion of 1715 was invoked to aid other motives, Political, as well as Religious, . 55

NOTICE.

As this little volume is simply the introduction to an Historical Collection intended to be forthwith published, under the title of LANCASHIRE DURING THE REBELLION OF 1715, I am unwilling that the funds of this Society should be devoted to a disquisition, however necessary it may eventually be found, in which original or scarce documents do not actually make their appearance.

Under this impression the present preliminary sketch is printed at my individual expense; and, in respectfully submitting it to the Chetham Society, I have only to ask their indulgence towards a labour, requiring in fact, a greater degree of patient research, than I have found compatible with my limited time, as well as my state of health.

S. HIBBERT WARE.

CHAPTER I.

WHIG AND TORY DISTINCTIONS.

"Nothing contributed more to raise the people of this nation to a spirit of Rebellion than the licentious freedom of some in their public discourses, and others in their addresses, to cry up the old doctrines of Passive obedience, and to give hints and arguments to pure Hereditary right."—[Preface to PATTEN'S History of the Rebellion in 1715.]

UPON the origin of the words Whig and Tory, which, comparatively speaking, are modern terms of mutual opprobrium indicative of two great parties of the realm, there is no occasion to dilate. It is with the distinguishing principles of these two parties, of infinitely older origin than the names used to express the distinctions, that we are exclusively concerned.

(a) THE OPPOSITE DOCTRINES OF THE WHIGS AND TORIES, BRIEFLY STATED.

It was the doctrine of the Whigs, that the King derived his power from the people, to whom there might return an escheat.

The old Tories, on the contrary, professed their belief in the JUS DIVINUM, or that Kings derived their power, not from the People but from God, to whom only they were accountable; and

hence, that it did not belong to subjects to censure, but to know and obey their sovereign, who came to be so by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, nor forfeiture could alter or diminish.

(b) OPPOSITE OPINIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF WHIG OR TORY DOCTRINES.

In enquiring into the reasonableness of Whig or Tory distinctions, it would appear that both parties were anxious to test their opposite doctrines by the very earliest forms of monarchy, particularly in England.

The Whigs affirmed, to use the language of Queen Anne's time, that "there was not any nation or government in the world, the first origin of which did not receive its foundation either from resistance or compact;"—and hence "that the laws were a common measure of the power of the crown, and of the obedience of the subject."

It does not appear, however, that the Whigs, in their anxiety to assign to Royalty an origin derived either from resistance or compact, have ever been enabled to furnish the shadow of an historical proof of their assertion. The Tories also have no less failed in shewing, that there existed "ab initio" a "Jus divinum," that is, to use an expression of Guizot, a sort of "Christian Royalty" founded upon embodying in the idea of monarchy the representative of the Deity, and enforcing from the subject an absolute and unconditional obedience.

In short, according to the Historian whom I have quoted, "Royalty was a power, which, neither in its origin nor in its nature, was well defined or clearly limited. No one at the time was able to assign to Royalty a special and precise origin. It was neither purely hereditary, nor purely elective, nor considered exclusively of a divine institution.—[Cours d'Histoire moderne, par M. GUIZOT, tome v. p. 5.]

Nor are we, even in a later period of English history, more successful in tracing the exclusive existence either of the Whig or

Tory principle. From the time of the Conqueror down to that of Edward the Third, and, in fact, later, Royalty, so far from being absolute, was struggling to maintain a precarious existence, being opposed not only by the power of the Church, but by the proprietors of Fiefs, who were direct, or indirect vassals of the Crown. In this state of society it is quite evident, that the doctrine which teaches an unconditional submission to Kings, who are the vicegerents of God, could not possibly have existed, at least to any influential degree. On the contrary, a reference has been made to the troublesome era of Edward the Second for proof of the ascendancy of the Whig principle which taught the doctrine of resistance to Kingly government, or, in other words, that the King derived his power from the people, to whom there might return an escheat. In the fifteenth year of Edward the Second an act of parliament passed, entitled "Exilium Hugonis de Spencer Patris et Filii," in which the first article recites, that they had affirmed and published in writing that "Homage and oath of allegiance were due, more by reason of the Crown than by reason of the person of the King; and that if the King did not demean himself according to reason in the exercise of his government, his subjects might remove him; and that since the removal could not be by course of law, they might therefore remove him by force." It does not appear, however, that the nation, or government, was in this sentiment decided; as the act by which the Spencers were banished was in subsequent reigns liable to no fewer than four vicissitudes or alternations, occurring from the reign of Edward the Second down to that of Henry the Fourth, in which there was either a repeal of the act, or in which there was a reversion of the repeal, or in which there was a fresh confirmation of the sentence of exile. This indecision in the legislature shews that there was a great hesitation in the public mind on the question of a limited or unlimited obedience due to kings, and that in proportion as monarchy was gradually acquiring consolidation, the principle claimed by the Whigs appears to have gradually become fainter and fainter, the earliest indication of which was in the passing of the well known act of Edward the Third, in which the levying of war against the

King in his realm was declared High Treason "without any exception whatever."—[See the Trial of Sacheverell, from which the foregoing authorities are quoted.]

(c) THE TORY DOCTRINE, AN APOSTOLIC PRECEPT.

The fact is, that the Tory doctrine of the Jus Divinum of Kings to govern, and of the absolute and unconditional obedience due from the subject to God's Vicegerents upon earth, acquired its authority, less from any historical evidence tending to shew that it was the earliest state of monarchy, than from its having been a precept of the Church, of which the charge of St Paul was the earliest form which it took:—"Let every soul be subject unto the Higher Powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."—[Romans, chapter 13th, verses 1st and 2d.]

(d) THE QUALIFYING SENSE UNDER WHICH THE WHIGS RECEIVED THE APOSTOLIC PRECEPT.

But, upon the sense in which the apostolic precept ought to be received, both Whig and Tory were ever divided. In the first expression—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," the Tory read an "unconditional" obedience to Kings. From the second, "that there is no power but of God; and that the powers that be are ordained of God," the Jus Divinum was inferred, and, along with it, the principle that Kings were the Vicegerents of God. And, lastly, in the condemnation which was threatened against those who, "in resisting the Power, resisted the ordinance of God," the argument for "an unqualified and unconditional obedience to Kings" met with support.

The Whigs, however, materially qualified the tenor of this

doctrine. They argued, that the Jus Divinum did not imply an arbitrary, but "A LAWFUL RIGHT," which, whenever it was "lawful," that is, according to Divine laws, claimed unconditional obedience, and, when the contrary, resistance.

It is not a little remarkable, that a few years before the party terms of Whig and Tory appeared in history, that is, at the Restoration of Charles the Second, Mr Heyrick, Warden of Manchester College, then the organ of the Presbyterians, had anticipated the Whigs in their qualifying interpretation of the text of St Paul. This was shewn in a sermon of congratulation upon the coronation of Charles the Second, who had promised to the Presbyterian religion of England the same protection which, as an establishment, it had received from the Parliament during the course of the Great Rebellion. Accordingly, Mr Heyrick, although in the plenitude of his loyalty he advocated the Jus Divinum of Kings, very prudently did not press the doctrine to any farther extent: "Kings," he remarked, "are placed on their thrones by God; vested with their robes by God; girt with their swords by God; anointed by God; crowned by God. It is not," added the Preacher, "in the collective body to make Kings, for Kings are Kings though the whole people oppose it."—But, as the Preacher had taken a most active part in the Great Rebellion, he was careful, at the same time, of vindicating Non-resistance; he therefore sheltered the conduct of the Presbyterians during the late years of anarchy under the following remark, that "it is a fundamental law of this nation, that if any law be enacted contrary to the law of God, there needs no repeal of it, but that it is null of itself, and that People are not bound to the obedience of it."—[Hibbert's History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 349.]

This was a striking observation in a discourse, otherwise wild, inflated, and rhapsodical. But it is not a little curious, that the same sentiment, in nearly the self-same language, should appear in the work of one of the most enlightened of modern ethical writers, whose loss Philosophy has recently had occasion to deplore: "There is only one law in the world," remarks M.

Jouffroy, "which is the LAW OF GOD. Every law which does not thence derive its origin is not a law, and is not obligatory;—neither is it a rule to which we are bound to submit."—[Cours de droit naturel, par M. Th. Jouffroy; Paris, 1842; Tome III. page 197.]

(c) THE TORY DOCTRINE FIRST TAUGHT IN ENGLAND BY THE REFORMERS.

Stillingfleet [in his Vindication of the Catholic Church, &c., 1687] quotes an assertion made in his time by some author, that "we had our government and ceremonies from his [the Catholic] Church; our doctrine from Luther and Calvin; and that we had nothing peculiar to our [English] Church, but the doctrine of Non-resistance."

Most assuredly this doctrine of the Tories, regarded by Stillingfleet "as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and of the primitive Church," did not prevail during the feudal state of England, but only began to be taught when monarchy had acquired strength and consolidation; that is, about the time of the Reformation. The Bishop of Salisbury may be, therefore, right in his conjecture, that it was one of the earliest doctrines of the Church taught by the Reformers. "In the times of Popery," he remarked, "there was a tenet built upon Bishops setting the crown on the heads of princes and anointing them, that they held their crowns of the Church and at the Pope's mercy, who had for about five hundred years got into the claim of deposing them, and giving their dominion to others in case they were Heretics, or the favourers of them. But the Reformation, being in its first beginning protected by the Princes of Germany, by the Kings of the North, and then by the Kings of England, they came every where, in opposition to the Papal notions, to say, that Kings had their power from God."—[See his Speech made at the trial of Sacheverell.]

Every research that has hitherto been made of the first introduction of the doctrine in England appears to strengthen the

Bishop of Salisbury's notion. In a treatise of the date of 1542, published under the direction of Cranmer, in a homily of the reign of Edward the VI., as well as in a farewell declaration made by Bishops Ferrar, Hooper, Coverdale, and about nine others, as appears in Fox's Martyrology, the doctrine of an unconditional obedience to the superior powers which are ordained of God is emphatically inculcated. It was even taught that wicked rulers had their power and authority from God, and, therefore, that it was not lawful for their subjects to withstand them, although they might abuse their power. "A Rebel," it was remarked, "is worse than the worst prince, and Rebellion worse than the worst government of the worst Prince that hitherto hath been."

It is remarkable, however, that although James the First was usually considered as an arbitrary Prince, he was not inclined, upon theological principles, to give his support to this maxim of the Church. In a speech made in 1609 he stated, that "a king ceases to be a king and degenerates into a tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to govern by law."—[See the Trial of Sacheverell, from which the foregoing authorities are quoted.]

(f) THE WHIG DOCTRINE TAUGHT BY EXPOUNDERS OF THE CIVIL LAWS.

If the English Church claimed the Tory tenet for Herself, for the homily referred to was approved of and confirmed by the statute of the 13th year of Elizabeth, the Whig doctrine, on the contrary, was boasted of as having an exclusively legal origin. "It may be remarked," said Sir Joseph Jekyll, on the occasion of Sacheverell's trial, that "as the law is the only measure of the Prince's authority and the People's subjection, so the law derives its being and efficacy from common consent. And to place it on any other foundation than common consent, is to take away the obligation. This notion of common consent puts both Prince and People under obligation to observe the laws. And upon this

solid and rational foundation the lawyers in all ages have placed that obligation, as appears by all our law books."

To this legal opinion may be added that of another statesman, Mr Lechmere, who took a leading part in the prosecution of Sacheverell: "The nature of our constitution is that of a limited monarchy, wherein the supreme power is communicated and divided between Queen, Lords, and Commons, though the executive power and administration be wholly in the Crown. The terms of such a constitution do not only suppose, but express an original contract between the crown and the people, by which that supreme power was, by mutual consent, and not by accident, limited and lodged in more hands than one; and the uniform preservation of such a constitution for so many ages, without any fundamental change, demonstrates the continuance of the same contract.

"The consequences of such a frame of government are obvious: that the laws are a rule to both,—the common measure of the power of the crown, and of the obedience of the subject: and, if the executive part endeavour the subversion and total destruction of the government, the original contract is thereby broken, and the right of allegiance ceases. That part of the government they fundamentally injured hath a right to save or recover that constitution in which it had an original interest.

"Nay, the nature of such an original contract of government proves, that there is not only a power in the people, who have inherited its freedom, to assert their own title to it, but they are also bound in duty to transmit the same constitution to their posterity also.

"This is an eternal truth, essential to the government itself, and not to be defaced, or destroyed by any force or device."

(g) THE COMPARATIVE DEGREE OF PROGRESS MADE BY WHIG AND TORY PRINCIPLES.

From the period of the Reformation down to that of the Civil War, we find the principles respectively claimed by Whigs and Tories, struggling for pre-eminence, and exerting, either simultaneously or by turns, various degrees of influence upon the measures of the legislature, which it is the particular province of the historian to trace, as fraught with important consequences to the destinies of England. In the troublesome times of Charles the First, the doctrine of Non-Resistance was taught, only to be defied in an unhappy period of rebellion.

At length, on the occasion of the Restoration, Toryism was in the ascendancy. It was in the reign of Charles the Second, that the doctrine of Non-Resistance suggested the language used in many of the oaths, or obligations, necessary to qualify for civil and religious offices, in which solemn engagements were made against the bearing of arms on any pretence whatever against the King. In justification of these pledges, which were made imperative, it was asserted, not only that the illegality of resistance to the Supreme power, on any pretence whatever, was warranted by the authority of the Church, but that this manner of expression was agreeable to the laws of England.

In this reign the distinctive appellations of Whig and Tory were first recognised. They originated during the violent ferment which resulted from the popular wish expressed, to exclude the Duke of York, who was a Papist, from succeeding to the throne in the event of his Brother's death. The Court party then, throughout the kingdom, offered upon Tory principles, their services for the preservation of his Majesty's personal government, for the succession of the Duke of York, and for the security of their unlimited obedience to the King's command. They even referred the sitting of Parliament to the Royal pleasure; which last concession, to a King who had become impatient of a constitutional limit to his authority, was particularly grateful.

After the Tory doctrine of absolute submission to Kingly government had met with a practical illustration by the King endeavouring to govern absolutely, without the constitutional aid of a parliament, the greatest possible support was given to this principle by the promulgation of the famous Oxford decree, in which the adverse principles of Whiggism were formally condemned. In order also to support the hereditary right of the Duke of York to the throne, notwithstanding his bias to the Roman Catholic religion, the doctrine which held "that birthright and proximity of blood gave no title to rule and government, and that it was lawful to preclude the next heir from his right and succession to the throne,"—was pronounced as pernicious and damnable. From this time, along with the divine right of James the Second to govern, was joined "his hereditary and indefeasible right."

(h) THE TORY DOCTRINE TAUGHT IN LANCASHIRE.

The Tory doctrine at this time owed much of its popularity in Lancashire to the pastoral labours of an eminent Divine, Dr Stratford, then Warden of Manchester, and afterwards Bishop of Chester. To the old Cavaliers it was particularly grateful to be assured, that the doctrine which held that Kings derived their power from the People, to whom there might return an escheat, had been the true principle upon which the abettors of the Great Rebellion had acted in their taking up arms against monarchical authority, whence all the dreadful state of anarchy in which the nation had been plunged for many years. "A humble man," said Dr Stratford, "is so far from exalting himself above those that are over him, that he readily stoops to those that are under him. He accounts nothing a greater instance of pride and arrogance, than to control those to whom he is in duty bound to submit, or to prescribe laws to those from whom he is bound to receive them; since this is, by interpretation, to set himself above God, whose authority magistrates are invested with, and whose vicegerents

they are. He leaves it, therefore, to his governors to determine what is to be imposed, and thinks himself only concerned to obey:—and if it sometimes happen that he is not able to discover the nature of a law, he still questions not but there is sufficient reason for it, because his superiors (as standing upon higher ground) are able to see farther than he can. He doth not, therefore, dispute, much less remonstrate against their injustice, but humbly bows and submits to them. And if he be unhappily brought to this exigent, that he cannot do what his governors command, unless he break the commands of the absolute Sovereign of Heaven and Earth, he will then raise no opposition either against their persons or governments, but meekly suffer what they inflict, as knowing that they are the ministers of God, and that whoever resisteth them riseth up in rebellion against God himself!"—[From Dr Stratford's "Dissuasion from Revenge," addressed to the Inhabitants of Manchester and Salford, and quoted in Dr Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 16.]

(i) THE ASCENDANCY OF THE WHIG PRINCIPLE DURING THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Notwithstanding the great strength which the Tory principle of the Jus Divinum, and of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance had acquired, it became greatly enfeebled when James the Second resorted to unconstitutional measures for the purpose of advancing in the kingdom the tenets of the Church of Rome. The Whig principle of Resistance, which proceeded on the plea that the mutual compact between the King and the People had been broken, then acquired strength.

This enfeeblement of the Tory principle was followed by the great event of the Revolution of 1688. When James the Second erected a new ecclesiastical commission, with power to exercise all manner of spiritual jurisdiction; when a royal declaration of indulgence brought over into the country swarms of Jesuits and

Roman Catholic priests, and when an order appeared forbidding Bishops to preach on controverted points of doctrine touching the Popish religion, or to declare in any way against the religion of the King, the time had arrived when Churchmen were compelled to decide,—whether they ought not to break the obligation imposed upon them by the articles of their church, of absolute non-resistance to Kingly authority, rather than, by a passive forbearance, to sanction a far greater crime, in the attacks which were meditated against the existing establishment of a Protestant church of England, and the laws conjointly. The Houses of Parliament proceeded to deliberate upon the question, and the result ended in the declaration, that "King James had broken the original contract between King and People." The Whig principle then became triumphant.

(k) THE TORY EMBARRASSMENTS WHICH SUCCEEDED TO THE REVOLUTION.

But it was soon evident that the Parties who had coalesced were beginning to manifest signs of impatience. This was first shewn when the question was put, whether the throne should be filled with a new king, or a regent? Those who were unwilling to contradict the notion which they had so long boasted of, namely, that the Royal Power was jure divino, and His Majesty's character indelible, naturally voted for a regency;—a vote which they lost by only two voices.

But this was not the sole question of embarrassment with which the Tories were beset. The character attributable to the Revolution itself, began to be considered.

With the Whigs, who held that the laws were a common measure of the Prince's power and the People's submission, the infraction of them by any monarch justified the revolution to be regarded as a necessary proceeding of self-defence. But if, on the Tory principle, King James had a Divine Right to govern, and if the passive obedience of the subject was unconditional, the character of the Revolution, so far from being a justifiable mea-

sure of self-defence, would be an act of Rebellion, and, as such, would fall under the censure of the Church.

Again, if the Tories, instead of deciding the Revolution to be a justifiable measure of self-defence, should pronounce it to be a rebellion, it would follow that the crowned heads who succeeded to the throne, by virtue of James's displacement, must be necessarily usurpers, and that in this light their successors would have to be regarded. The progress of this question was felt by the Tories as a fresh source of embarrassment, on account of their having given in their adhesion to the Prince of Orange. In relaxing also from their once strict notions of Royal succession, they had been induced to declare, that, on the demise of the Queen [Mary], the crown devolved to the Princess Anne of Denmark, a Protestant, in whom was the hereditary right.

In the reign of Queen Anne, the legitimacy of the Revolution of 1688, by which James the Second was displaced, and his heir excluded from succeeding to the throne, became more boldly condemned than ever. In vain were the Tories reminded by Lord Wharton of the direction towards which their arguments were pointing, and of the conclusion to which they led. "If the Revolution," he observed, "was not lawful, many in that house, and vast numbers without, were guilty of bloodshed, murder, rapine, and injustice, and the Queen herself was no lawful Queen, since the best title which she had to the crown was her parliamentary title founded on the rebellion." Remarks such as these proved a source of fresh embarrassment to the Tories, who then began to press more strongly than ever the distinction of a "parliamentary" and a "rightful" sovereign, or of "a King de facto" and "a King de jure."

This distinction will be next explained.

(l) "A KING DE FACTO," AND "A KING DE JURE."

When, in consequence of the age and infirmities of Queen Anne, the immediate probability of a Hanoverian succession came into

debate, as well as upon the actual accession of King George to the Throne, the Tories found it hazardous to persist in refusing the name of King to the sovereign who had been called upon to govern the realm, by the voice of both Lords and Commons. And, as oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and other government tests of obedience were demanded, the Tories very soon found it convenient to revive a distinction, which, soon after the Revolution, had been made, of "a King de facto," and "a King de jure." Thus, "a king de facto" held his power by virtue of acts of parliament, while "a king de jure" possessed the Divine Right. Or, in other words, the term of "a King de jure" implied the indelible character of the monarch who had been invested with a Divine Right, while that of "a King de facto" was a parliamentary title founded on the Revolution, being a softer term for that of Usurper.

(m) INFLUENCE OF TORY PRINCIPLES IN THE REBELLION OF 1715.

During the course of these discussions a remark of Bishop Hooper became often quoted, "that the Revolution was not to be boasted of, and that they ought to throw a mantle over it." It was then that the ultimate object of the Tories became too self-evident to be mistaken. The principle of the Divine right of Kings to govern, and of the guilt which had been incurred by resisting it, became reasserted more energetically than ever as an orthodox doctrine of the Church, "which no necessity, no act of parliament, no prescription of time, and no natural or legal incapacity could ever invalidate or set aside."

That sentiments of this kind should eventually excite to insurrection can create no surprise whatever. This is accordingly asserted by a writer who had the best opportunity of testing their influence, namely, the Rev. Robert Patten, who had served in the Rebellion, as Chaplain to General Forster. He relates of the Tories, that "on the pretences of Hereditary right, Legitimacy of blood, and the divine law of Primogeniture, which for many years they had preached up as a precept of the church, they raised innu-

merable inventions of forged stories and false representations, to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of a Popish Pretender, and in prejudice of the House of Hanover."—[Patten's History of the Rebellion.]

(n) CONCLUDING REMARKS ON WHIG AND TORY CONTENTIONS.

It is perfectly foreign to the object of this treatise that it should bear a part in the ancient controversies of Whigs and Tories. At the same time it is quite evident from preceding inquiries, that while the Tory enforced his tenets as a precept, or law, of the church, and the Whig as a maxim of the civil law of the land, there might have existed a third ultimate principle, by which the validity of both one and the other of the two opposite doctrines would, in their practical application at least, have been constantly brought to a salutary test. For it is quite evident, from every page of early Whig and Tory history, that a torrent of disorders had flowed from the two antagonist doctrines not having been uniformly submitted to an independent ordeal, THE GREAT TEST, previous to having been reduced to practice. But unhappily at that time, the Divines who taught the Tory doctrine as a precept of their church, as well as the Lawyers, who, on civil and legislative grounds, maintained an opposite sentiment, severally laid claim to a degree of infallibility, which at the present day would be considered as extravagant.

To do both parties justice, however, it is evident that while the Whigs unhesitatingly admitted the superiority of this third principle, THE LAW OF GOD, the Tories, when pressed in argument, or during the excitement of a debate, occasionally betrayed the consciousness of its necessity as an indispensable test. Thus in the sermon of Sacheverell, the popular organ of the Tories, we find the following passage: "The grand security of our government, and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subjects' obligation to an absolute and unconditional

obedience to the Supreme Power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatever."

Now, in making allowance for two contradictory clauses in this Tory quotation, the expression of an unconditional obedience to the supreme power "IN ALL THINGS LAWFUL" is nothing more than what was admitted by the opposite Whig party. The question, then, is, in what does that LAW consist, to which both parties have been constrained to bow?

"There is only one law," remarks M. Jouffroy, (the author whom I have previously quoted,) "which is THE LAW OF GOD. Every law which does not thence derive its origin, is not a law, and is not obligatory;—neither is it a rule to which we are bound to submit."

I am tempted, while on this question, to continue the quotation. "The true law—THE LAW—is not made for such or such an individual, in the interest of such an individual,—it is eminently impersonal; it is superior to the individuals who are subject to it, otherwise we should not conceive that it was obligatory."—"THE LAW ought not to be arbitrary, that is to say, capricious; that is to say, it ought to express, not what is suitable relatively to such or such an individual, or in such or such a case, but what is suitable in itself, in the nature of things. If, from the arbitrary, it be insinuated into a human law, this, the arbitrary, ought only to shew itself in a law of application, and not in a fundamental law; for we must carefully distinguish in legislation, considered as a whole, the party, the end proposed, the general government, and the executive part in which the practical is interested; that is to say, the means of attaining the object, of realising the government. This last part is always more or less arbitrary; for inasmuch as we attempt to deduce the practical from the principle, it cannot be deduced so rigorously, but that it may glance from things, the absolute necessity of which is not evident; and as we cannot give precision to all cases, we choose the ordinance which in general bears upon the greater number of cases. Thus, in regard to the code of process [code de procedure], it appears to be arbitrary;—

however, when we seek the motive of its regulations, we find that they are calculated to guarantee, in the most secure manner, the dignity of the great principles of our legislation.—[Cours de droit Naturel, par M. Th. Jouffroy, Paris, 1842. Tome iii., pp. 197 201, et seq.]

CHAPTER II.

THE PRESBYTERIANS, PARTICULARLY OF LANCASHIRE.

"The Presbyterian Dissenters in England, being of the same principles with the Church of Scotland, enemies to Popery and slavery, and hearty champions for the Protestant religion and succession in his Majesty, King George's most illustrious family, t'was for this cause only that they met with such hard treatment from the Tories, and became the objects of the fury of the High Church mobs."—[Rae's History of the Rebellion against King George, p. 151.]

The above quotation appears as a motto at the head of the present chapter, merely to shew in what light the English Presbyterians recommended themselves as a Party, in the movement of 1715.

The English Presbyterians were the legitimate successors of the Puritans, who first appeared under this name, as a religious party, in the reign of Elizabeth.

(a) THE PURITANS DISTINGUISHED FOR THEIR AVERSION TO POPISH TENETS.

The real distinction of the Puritans consisted in their rooted

and deadly hatred of all tenets and rites that were professed by the Roman Catholics, and in their resolution to acknowledge no doctrine or ceremony in common with them, the slightest perceptible similarity being considered as a pollution. In seeking therefore to purify the Protestant religion from all Popish adulteration, they acquired the name which they bore of Puritans.

In the year 1580, an Ecclesiastical commission to look after the state of the Churches in the North of England, and to preserve them from the contamination of Popery, was in Lancashire entrusted to the guardianship of Dr Chaderton, warden of Manchester, a Calvinist, and strongly inclined to favour the Puritanic cause, which at the close of the reign of Elizabeth had acquired great strength. As Lancashire could then boast of more Puritans than perhaps any other county, the Roman Catholics underwent in this district a series of persecutions, which form the great disgrace of that period. Their refusal, on religious motives, to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, was considered treason against the throne of England, and they were stigmatised under the name of "Recusants." By the force of an act passed against Catholics, Recusants were liable to fines and imprisonment. If, however, they persisted in their alleged error, they might undergo capital punishment. The publication even of Bulls of absolution from the Pope, or the acceptance of them, was made constructive treason.

(b) THE PRESBYTERIANS WERE THE LEGITIMATE SUCCESSORS OF THE PURITANS.

From the close of the reign of Elizabeth down to the period of the Great Rebellion, Puritanism had acquired much growth, but in no county more than in Lancashire. In an early period of the civil wars, Episcopacy fell; when the Puritans, by filling up the void in church government with the Presbyterian discipline imported from Scotland, and, at the same time, by taking the covenant, acquired the character and name of Presbyterians. But in no county of England did the Presbyterian discipline appear in

so complete a form as in that of Lancashire. It was carried on, first, by congregational assemblies, each congregation being under the immediate rule of its ministers and elders; secondly, by monthly classical assemblies, composed of delegates from the several congregations of each classical division of Lancashire; and, thirdly, by synods, which were formed by delegates from each of the classes.—[See Dr Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. i.]

(c) THE PERSECUTING SPIRIT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS TOWARDS THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

To the Roman Catholics the newer name of Presbyterian became no less odious than was that of Puritan, particularly when this prevailing party exercised a sequestrating power over the lands and goods of Papists. "You are to seize," says one of the articles, drawn up for the use of the sequestrators, "two parts of the estates, both real and personal, of all Papists, and the whole estates of all other sorts of delinquents, whether they be Papists or others; and you are to understand by two parts of Papists' estates, two of their whole lands and two of their goods into three to be divided."

(d) PRESBYTERIANISM CHECKED BY THE RISE OF THE INDEPENDENTS.

During the protectorate of Cromwell, the Presbyterian form of church government ceased to receive any parliamentary support. New sects then sprang up under the name of Independents, who were opposed to any ecclesiastical or state establishment whatever; each congregation, whether under the name of Brownists, Anabaptists, or Antinomians, &c. &c. forming itself into a distinct church, with the right of exercising its own censures over its proper pastors or its proper members. By these multifarious sects the influence of Presbyterianism was considerably enfeebled.

(e) THE DOWNFALL OF ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANISM AS A STATE RELIGION.

Soon after the accession of Charles the Second to the throne of England, Episcopacy was revived, when Presbyterianism as a state religion fell. An act was passed for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Church of England. This act was enforced by the severest penalties. Every Presbyterian minister was obliged to abandon his benefice, or sign such articles as were proposed to him, agreeably to the act of uniformity. Accordingly, about two thousand ministers relinquished their cures. Other penal statutes were also passed to enforce uniformity, by which the Nonconformists, as the Presbyterians and other dissenters were then named, became exposed to severe hardships and persecutions.

(f) THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS, ALTHOUGH PERSECUTED, DO NOT RELAX IN THEIR ACTIVITY AGAINST THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Persecution did not, however, relax to the slightest degree the detestation which the English Presbyterians still continued to entertain towards the Roman Catholics. This was evinced on the occasion when Charles the Second had a charge made against him, that the dispensing power of the Crown, with regard to the penal laws, had much less for its object an indulgence to Protestant dissenters, than a design to favour the introduction of Popery into the realm. The King was thence induced to give a reluctant consent, that the laws should be put into immediate force against Popish Recusants; and that a bill should be brought in, which, to the exclusion of Papists, awarded all places of trust and profit to such as were of the communion of the Church of England. The act required, that every person who held a public office of trust, or profit, should take the oaths of supremacy and

allegiance, and should receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England; also, that he should make a solemn declaration against the doctrine of Transubstantiation; the penalty of breaking which act being a disability of prosecuting any suits, besides a fine of L.500.

Upon the occasion of passing this act, the Papists were enabled to ascertain, that, among the bitterest of their enemies, the English Presbyterians were the most uncompromising, and held a foremost rank. For, when the King proposed that some exception to the rigours of the Test act should be made in favour of the Protestant Dissenters, the Presbyterians declared, that though oppressed, they were willing to lie under the severity of the laws, rather than clog a much more necessary work, and that they would cheerfully suffer a deprivation of their civil liberties and privileges, sooner than enjoy them in common with the Papists, and in a way so destructive of the Protestant interest. They therefore begged that the law might pass without alteration.

(g) THE PRESBYTERIANS ATTACHED TO THE WHIG PRINCIPLES OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Presbyterians had lamented, in common with the Whigs, the ascendancy of the Principles to which they had ever been opposed during the short reign of James the Second. "Before the Revolution," as a Statesman had occasion to remark, "it is known how Popery and absolute Power had invaded the Constitution. The royal Supremacy, of such absolute necessity to preserve the peace of the kingdom, was disclaimed, and the Papal supremacy, by a solemn embassy to Rome, owned and acknowledged, and no footsteps left of the Royal supremacy, but that which was worse than nought, an illegal High Commission Court. And at this time the popular rights in almost all of them were invaded."

With the principles of the Revolution the Presbyterians entirely accorded. The advantages resulting from this great na-

tional movement they professed to be, 1st, the enjoyment of the Light of God's true religion established among us, and of the laws and liberties of the kingdom ; 2dly, the prospect of Happiness for future ages, by the settlement of the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line ; and, 3dly, the uniting of all Protestant subjects in interest and affections, by a legal indulgence or toleration granted to Dissenters.

The sequel of this history of the English Presbyterians, as a Party, is embraced in a few words : In the movement of 1715 they attached themselves to the Whigs, and, in Lancashire, a Party of them resorted to arms, in the defence, as they professed, of the Protestant Religion against a Popish Pretender. And even at a later date, the Presbyterians were distinguished more than any other of the Protestant Dissenters, by a stern and irreconcilable hatred to any opinion, rite, or observance which made the least approximation to Popery. It was not, in fact, until about the decline of the 18th century, that there appeared any symptom whatever of an approach to liberal ideas. Presbyterian congregations then began to be exhorted by their Pastors to cease in opposing Antichrist (as Popery was then named), by the very spirit of Antichrist himself, which was that of unqualified intolerance.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

" My loyalty descended to me from my ancestors; my Father and Grandfather, having had the honour to be sacrificed in doing their duty to their Kings Charles I. and James II. — [Declaration of RICHARD GASCOIGNE, Esq., a Roman Catholic, on the scaffold, May 25th 1716.]

The Roman Catholics have hitherto been described as objects of Puritanic and Presbyterian aversion and persecution. Their more legitimate distinctions, as a party, consisted, 1st, in their ancient loyalty to the House of Stuart; 2dly, in their general dislike of the Whigs, among whom the Presbyterians, of similar Whig principles, were included; and, 3dly, in their attachment to the Tories. Their co-operation with the High Church Tories will be explained in a subsequent chapter.

1*st*, THE ANCIENT LOYALTY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS TO THE HOUSE OF STUART.

The Roman Catholics are distinguished by no character so strong as that of unchangeable loyalty to the Royal House of Stuart under all adverse circumstances possible, not even to the exception of the conflicting questions of Religion. This inflexible consistency of sentiment can only be explained by a retrospect of the very early persecutions which the Catholics underwent, which were continued to a late period of English history.

That the Roman Catholics, particularly of Lancashire, should have appeared in arms during the movement of 1715, can excite no surprise whatever. They were stimulated by a deep recollection of long bygone persecutions, to which, as a cause, they referred their existing political and religious grievances. This Historical retrospect comprises, in its earliest date, the persecutions and degradations which they underwent in the reign of Elizabeth, and the sympathy which they subsequently met with from the unfortunate Charles, who was the first to shew concern for their sufferings and civil disabilities.

The penalties inflicted on the Roman Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth, whereby they sacrificed both life and property, only contributed, as is the effect of all religious persecutions whatever, to increase the number of Catholics in Lancashire. It was declared by the Government, when a relaxation of some of their penalties took place, " that the obstinacy of the recusants of rank and authority had prevented the lower sort from conforming." From this early period, Lancashire exceeded every other county of England in the amount of its Roman Catholic population.—[Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. i. p. 117.]

These persecutions formed the commencement of the Puritanic period, which was at its greatest height in the troublesome reign of Charles the First. To the ancient and unremitted enmity of the Puritans, manifested both in and out of Parliament, the Roman Catholics attributed the prolonged force of the penal statutes under which they laboured; and, in the exact proportion that their adversaries continued to lose the favour of Charles, they sought every opportunity to win it.

At length the Civil Wars commenced, which (as I have stated in another work) began to assume in Lancashire an aspect different in its kind from that of any other county in England. The Puritans had no farther interest in the Parliamentary cause than the sanction which it gave them to carry on a war of extermination against the Papists;—it was far less a question with them what wounds the king had inflicted against the civil constitution, than what head they were enabled to make against their Antichristian foes, whom they accused of having no farther attachment to royalty,

than the use which they could make of it, as a pretext, to repeat in Lancashire the massacres which had been perpetrated in Ireland. The Catholics, in their turn, assembled to fight beneath the Royal Standard, in the hopes of reinstating a sovereign, who was favourable to a repeal of the penal statutes in force against Popery; and they were inflamed to the last degree against the Puritans, to whom they attributed the political privations which they had suffered for many years. In gratitude, therefore, for the commiseration which Charles had shewn to the Roman Catholics, they paid all the fines imposed upon them with the greatest cheerfulness; they even offered to a needy and impoverished exchequer still greater sacrifices of property, while their personal services in the field of combat were ever at the free disposal of their monarch.

This feeling was not lost upon Charles. The Papists of Lancashire, and indeed of other counties, rapidly acquired the Royal Esteem, which for a century afterwards, in their attachment to the House of Stuart, they never forgot; and, if they did not possess its full tide, it was from an apprehension of the alarm which might be excited, that it was not merely a toleration of Popery which was meditated, but a total subversion of the reformed religion of the country.—[Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, Vol. I. p. 202.]

With the usurpation of Cromwell the Catholics of Lancashire altogether retired from the sphere of political and religious combat. By a needy parliament they had been allowed to compound for their liberty of conscience, and, as the royal cause seemed irretrievably lost, they naturally felt little interest in the religious feuds which followed, particularly when they found themselves excluded by the refusal even of Independents, the bitter antagonists of the Presbyterians, to make any concessions to Popery.

In the restoration of Charles the Second, the Roman Catholics felt the greatest satisfaction; and although the monarch was induced by the spirit of the times to give a reluctant assent to many severe acts against Papists, such measures of the legislature were never at any time attributed to the fickleness, or insensibility, of this careless monarch.

Thus, while the ancient loyalty of the Roman Catholics towards the House of Stuart long remained unaffected by any reverses of fortune whatever, to James the Second they were under exclusive obligations. When this monarch, with the view of allowing the Jesuits and other missionaries a free field for their exertions, granted a full liberty of conscience in the open profession of every religion to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, when he erected a new ecclesiastical commission with power to exercise all manner of spiritual jurisdiction, and when an order appeared forbidding bishops to preach on controverted points of Doctrine touching the Popish religion, or to declaim in any way against the religion of the King, it was then that the Roman Catholics began to breathe more freely, and to regard James in the light of a sainted deliverer from their ancient persecutors.

From this time the attachment of the Roman Catholics to the House of Stuart was, if possible, increased, and, in the attempt to restore the abdicated monarch and his posterity to the throne of their ancestors, no sacrifice was deemed too great. Patten, in his history of the rebellion of 1715, admits that "the Roman Catholics died like men, never varying from their principles." This was shewn in the last declarations of such as paid the forfeit for their ancient loyalty with their lives: "I have never," said the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, "had any other for my rightful and lawful sovereign than James the Third. Him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his person, knowing him to be capable of making his people happy. And though he had been of a different religion from mine, I should have done for him all that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors, being thereto bound by the laws of God and man."

2d, THE DISLIKE FELT BY THE ROMAN CATHOLICS TOWARDS WHIGS AND PRESBYTERIANS, IN COMMON.

From the time of the Revolution down to the accession of George the First, the Roman Catholics were stimulated in their

exertions of ancient loyalty to the House of Stuart by the hatred, alike shewn by Whigs and Presbyterians, to a free profession of their ancient tenets. This hostility of the Whigs was first called forth when they saw the Tories and the Roman Catholics arrayed against them in one common object, namely, the restoration of James the Third to the throne of his ancestors. It was then that they rendered the laws in force against Popery still more stringent;—a specious reason having been offered for this coercion in the fact, that Popish emissaries in the labour of conversion were actually abroad. This was no sooner noticed by the Whig government, than they brought in a bill decreeing a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict Popish priests and Jesuits, and perpetual imprisonment for any who might be convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It also enacted, that no person being a Papist to be afterwards born, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within England and Wales, and that no Papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements or hereditaments either in his own name, or in the name of other persons in trust for him. The bill was, however, happily deficient in certain necessary clauses to enforce execution, so that all the effect which it produced was, to subsequently cause a proclamation of Queen Anne to be uttered against the Papists, that it was High Treason to withdraw any of the Queen's subjects from their natural obedience to Her, or to reconcile them to the Pope or See of Rome. This insulting edict was only calculated to add to the exasperation, already sufficiently great, which the Roman Catholics entertained against the Whigs.

And again, when in 1708 it was reported to Government that the Roman Catholics of England were intriguing with Foreign emissaries, the Queen, in denouncing the designs of a Popish Pretender bred up in principles of the most arbitrary government, recommended the Parliament to put the laws in execution against Papists and all others disaffected to the Government, and to make them pay towards the Public Taxes to the full of what the law required, so that those who actually fomented disturbances

should doubly contribute to the charge of quieting them, and securing the peace of the kingdom.

3dly, THE ATTACHMENT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS TO THE TORIES.

It has been explained, that the distinction of the Whigs, as a Party, first arose from their wish, in the reign of Charles the Second, to exclude the Duke of York, who was a Papist, from succeeding, in the event of his brother's death, to the throne. For this reason it was not likely that the Roman Catholics could be friendly to the Whig principle, that " as Kings derived their power from the consent of the people, there might consequently be an escheat, or forfeiture, to the power of the People." On the contrary, as it was their manifest interest to befriend the hereditary right of James the Second upon Tory principles, which denounced all idea that he derived his power from any other than a Divine Right, which no act of legislature whatever could annul, they took the earliest opportunity to make common cause with the Tories, although they must have been aware that non-resistance to Princes was no doctrine taught by the Church of Rome, which had often incited subjects to make war against Princes, and that, in point of fact, it was a doctrine first insisted on by the English Reformers. The Roman Catholics, however, in an address to Charles the Second, qualified the Tory doctrine after the following manner: They promised to support the Royal prerogative. They acknowledged the King to be God's vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs. They declared that they were bound to obey him under pain of sin, and they renounced all foreign power and authority as incapable of absolving them from this obligation.

A kindred sentiment pervaded the minds of the Roman Catholics in the memorable year of 1715. In the declaration of Colonel Oxburgh, an honourable and conscientious Roman Catholic, as delivered to the Sheriff upon the Scaffold, he quits the world with the admission, that even the circumstances of religion ought

not to affect his allegiance to his rightful Prince. His last words were as follows :—" If King James the Third had been a Protestant, I should think myself obliged to pay him the same duty, and to do him the same service, as if a Catholic; nor do I know any Catholic that is not of the same principle. For I never could find that either by the laws of God, or the ancient constitution of the nation, difference of religion in the Prince made any change in the allegiance of the subject."

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Such were the distinguishing characters of the Roman Catholics, who volunteered in the Jacobite cause of 1715. They had a painful recollection of the civil disabilities and privations inflicted upon them ever since the reign of Elizabeth. They were incited to take up arms for their monarch Charles the First, who had shewn them more commiseration than they had previously experienced; they were opposed to the Councils of Whigs and Presbyterians, who were their persecutors;—and they were in alliance with the Tories.

In short, when we consider the series of provocations which the Roman Catholics underwent from Presbyterians and Whigs united,—that they should have been impatient under them can be very readily imagined. The penalties attached to the profession of their religion have, in fact, continued in the English statute book to so late a period as the session of 1844. It was then that Sir Robert Peel, in moving the second reading of " the Roman Catholic Penal Acts Repeal Bill," observed, " that its great object was to repeal several penal enactments which had remained in the Statute-book since the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, but which were rendered wholly inoperative by a clause in that bill, exempting a Roman Catholic from all penalties of any sort on account of his religion, by his taking an oath there prescribed, and to which the Roman Catholics did not object. Now, he would call the attention of the House to the particular enactments which it was the object of the bill to

repeal. The first was upholding the spiritual authority of the see of Rome, which, for the third offence, was high treason. That this statute had received a very wide interpretation in former days, they were informed by Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown, in which it was stated, that if a book upholding the spirituality of the see of Rome were read in a man's presence, and that he approved of it, he was liable to all the penalties of high treason. Another penal enactment was, that if a Catholic did not attend the service of the Church of England once a-week, he was liable to a very heavy penalty. He was subject to a similar penalty, if he did not attend divine service on the 5th of November. Another enactment was, that of attaching the penalties of high treason to any Roman Catholic who might have sent his son abroad to receive his education as a Roman Catholic, and who did not return after six months' notice. In another case, if a Protestant should educate his child as a Catholic, he would thereby be disabled from holding any office in Church or State; and should a child so educated not renounce the Roman Catholic worship, and embrace that of the Church of England, he would become liable to similar disabilities. These enactments were, he repeated, at variance with the spirit of the act of 1829, and ought not to be allowed to remain on the Statute-Book. There were other enactments equally severe, and equally unnecessary for any practical purpose. One of these was, that if any man suspected another of being a Catholic, and within ten miles of London, the person so suspected might be taken before two magistrates; and should he then refuse to make a declaration against transubstantiation, he was to be treated with the penalties of a recusant. Again, if a Roman Catholic was possessed of a horse above the value of L.5, he might be called upon to make a declaration against transubstantiation; and if he refused, the horse might be taken from him, and given to the service of Her Majesty. The repeal of such enactments conferred no favour on the Roman Catholic, but it went to remove the odium which must be cast on our Statute-Book for continuing such obsolete acts. Such penalties were imposed on the spur of the moment, and in a different spirit from that which now prevailed."—[Extract from "The Times."]

CHAPTER IV.

THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES, PARTICULARLY OF LANCASHIRE, AND THEIR LOW CHURCH OPPONENTS.

" Let the Christian world judge, who best deserve the name of CHURCHMEN, those that strictly defend and maintain the Catholic doctrines, upon which the Church as a society is founded, or those who would barter them for a mongrel union of all sects?"—[SACHEVERELL'S Sermon.]

After the above manner have the two great parties of High and Low Church been distinguished by the popular organ of the High Church Tories.—Further distinctions are as follows:

1st, The High Church Tories were recognised by their uncompromising support of the Tory Principle of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, as an authoritative principle of their Church, whence the name which they obtained;

2d, By their exalted notions of the antiquity, pre-eminence, independence, and authority of their Church;

3d, By their conviction of the excellence of their Church institutes, and resistance of the smallest possible concession to the scruples of Dissenters, which might lead to their comprehension within the pale of their ecclesiastical communion;

4th, By maintaining, that in a religion of the state, such as that of the Church of England, civil offices cannot be held except by such as are within the pale of Her communion.

Such were the characteristics of " HIGH CHURCH." Those who attempted by any expression of sentiment or by any acts to

break down these distinctions, were stigmatised under the name "LOW CHURCH."

After these general remarks, we are now prepared to consider High and Low Church distinctions in detail.

(a) IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE UNCOMPROMISING SUPPORT GIVEN BY HIGH CHURCH TO THE TORY PRECEPT, AS AN AUTHORITATIVE ECCLESIASTICAL PRINCIPLE.

The inquiry into the diversity of origin, ascribed to Whig and Tory doctrines, has not been without its use. If we would understand the different parties who were brought together in opposition since the period of the Revolution, we must constantly keep in mind, that while the Whigs received their distinguishing doctrine from expounders of the civil laws, the Tories were religiously bound to their own tenet, as that which, in the words of Stillingfleet, "had been taught in their church, not only as Her own doctrine, but, what is more effectual, as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and of the Primitive Church."—[Stillingfleet's Vindication, &c., page 89. London, 1687.]

Hence, while the Whigs viewed the movement of 1715 as a civil contention only in defence of their laws; the Tories, on the contrary, regarded it as a religious warfare, in which an important principle in their church had been invaded.

This distinction, much lost sight of by historians, cannot be kept too steadily in view, if we would understand not only the parties, but the events which will fall under our notice. Thus, the High Church Tories constantly held, that the doctrines of Passive Obedience and of the hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns were the distinguishing characters of the Church of England in her political character. and that these doctrines were confirmed by every sanction derived from the laws of God and man.

The Low Church, on the contrary, was opposed to the Doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and, of course, took part with the Whigs.

Another doctrine maintained, particularly by that class of the High Church Tories who were named the Non-jurors, was, that to the King's majesty was assigned the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, as that which the Godly kings had among the Jews and Christian Emperors of the Primitive Church; while, by the King, was understood the monarch who possessed the crown by an hereditary right, which rendered the compliers with the revolution liable to excommunication.—[Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 88.]

In advocating these opinions, the greatest difficulties arose among such of the High Church Tories as were inclined to accept offices of Church and State. Before these were conferred, it had been usual to demand oaths of submission and allegiance, acknowledging the supremacy of the monarch who actually held the reins of power and governed the country. Such a requisition gave rise to Non-jurors, who either refused, evaded, or, to all appearance, actually consented to the usual oaths and subscriptions, yet, by a mere verbal subterfuge, perverted the original meaning of them which had been intended. These three descriptions of Non-jurors will now be described in succession.

Of the first description was such of the Non-jurors as absolutely refused, in despite of all civil and ecclesiastical disabilities, to take oaths of allegiance and submission to a sovereign, who did not, from hereditary right, possess the jus divinum. This was a high-minded and most conscientious section of the High Church Tories, who, in the rebellious times which followed the revolution of 1688, were fearless of danger, and hazarded life and fortune in the service of James the Second, and Third.

To a second section of High Church Tories, equally entitled to the name of Non-jurors, belonged those who may be styled EVADERS of the required oaths and subscriptions. Having evaded giving any public testimonies of fidelity and attachment to the reigning sovereigns, they still continued, through the leniency or

supineness of the Whig Government, to exercise offices in Church and State.

This section first manifested itself at the time of the revolution, when, on the 23d January 1688, a bill was passed to convert the convention, which met to declare the abdication of James and invite over the Prince of Orange, into a parliament. Upon this occasion, eight Bishops, who may be regarded as the representatives, or types of the High Church party, absented themselves from taking oaths. Now it is to be remarked, that many other conscientious individuals, like these Prelates, were never called upon to take oaths of supremacy and allegiance, which forbearance was due to the leniency of the Whigs, who being aware of the high merits of these Churchmen, naturally conceived that such exactions would be an insuperable objection to their being usefully employed in offices, to which they would have been otherwise recommended by their great abilities. It was contrived, therefore, that the laws should be relaxed in their favour, by the necessary public testimonies of loyalty to the reigning sovereigns being from time to time deferred.

In other instances, however, the Evading Non-jurors made use of ruses and subterfuges, in order to contrive that the term limited for taking the oaths should expire, after which they so managed as to continue officiating, although, at the same time, under the penalty of the law for having evaded the necessary oaths and subscriptions.

A third section of Non-jurors consisted of those who gave, to all appearance, public testimonies of allegiance, yet under a distorted sense, which the usual oaths and subscriptions required by the state would not truly bear. By a mere verbal subterfuge they perverted the meaning of the required oaths of supremacy to William and Mary, and held, that the abjuring of any right whatsoever which such Pretenders to the kingdom might receive, meant only a legal right, and had no relation to Birthright, or to Divine Right. [See the Bishop of Salisbury's speech in the

trial of Sacheverell.] They explained away the simple purport of these solemn obligations by taking oaths of subscription only as oaths due to Usurpers, with this reserve, that it was still lawful to assist King James if he should succeed in recovering the throne, and that he was still their king DE JURE, although the Prince of Orange was DE FACTO.

This kind of reasoning was employed during a later period in the case of James the Third, usually named the Pretender. The same description of oath-expounders continued to insist that King James the Second had a right which he continued to claim until the day of his death. They urged that his son, whose right as a son they declared to be as unquestionable as that of his father, had always kept up and supported his claim.

To this last, yet rather jesuitical, section, the inflammatory Sacheverell belonged. "He has shewn," said his accuser, "his submission to the Revolution from the first moment his years made him capable of doing so; he has given up the public testimonies of his fidelity and affection to the last reign, as well as the present, which the government has at any time required from the most suspected person; he has taken the oath of allegiance, signed the association, and took the abjuration."—(Sacheverell's Trial.]

(b) IN THE SECOND PLACE—THE ANTIQUITY, AND INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CONTENDED FOR BY THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES.

Regarding "the antiquity" of the church claimed by the High Church Tories, they approximated, in this view, to the Churchmen of the time of Laud, who took the same ultra, or transcendental view, and even arrogated, on behalf of their church, an antiquity and universality superior to that of the Church of Rome, to the retention, however, of some of the tenets and observances professed by Roman Catholics, which, in their view, had been irreligiously sacrificed to the innovations of such

as had styled themselves "Reformers." In adopting this ultra view of the antiquity of their church, they were the predecessors of a section of the Church of England existing at the present day, which in likewise claiming for its clergy an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles of those who administer Christ's ordinances, exhibits little more than a revival of Non-juring tenets.

With respect to Episcopacy, the sentiment of the High Church Tories, when more moderately expressed, was as follows: They held that it was consonant with the ancient rights and essential constitution of the Church that the Apostolic Institute of Episcopacy should be divine, and that it is not indifferent whether the Church be governed by Bishops or by Presbyters.

The importance of this sentiment was tested upon an occasion when the House of Commons, owing to the lenity which it had shewn to Dissenters, incurred the imputation of meditating designs against Episcopacy. The consequence was, that the Tories urged the importance of the House vindicating itself by a declaration, that the order of Bishops was superior to that of Presbyters; that it was a divine apostolical institution; and that it was incumbent upon the Bishops to settle the divine apostolical right of Episcopacy, in order that it might be a standing rule of the House. This declaration, which was eventually carried, caused the greatest possible dissensions.

The Independence and authority of the Church was said to be shewn in its jurisdiction, the judgment and decrees of which no act of Parliament could affect or reverse. Thus, when the Non-jurors maintained an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles of those who administered Christ's ordinances, they added, that as the deprivation of Bishops by lay authority was invalid of itself, the authority of the Church of England was resident in the deprived Bishops and Clergy, and remained in the Non-jurors, their successors, who had immediately adhered to their true constitution and principles, and that all who departed from them were at least in a state of Schism.

To these several views various objections were offered by such as were stigmatised under the name of "Low Church."

It was replied, that "the independent power or jurisdiction of the Church, or of ecclesiastical judges, stands in utter defiance and contradiction of Magna Charta and the laws of the Land; that it is destructive of the legal supremacy of the Crown and legislation, being a violation of the oath of supremacy, and contrary to the principles of the Reformation, and the doctrine and interest of the Church of England." These and other views caused Queen Anne to declare, that Her constant care and endeavours would be to preserve the constitution of the Church of England, as by law established, and that she was resolved to preserve the supremacy, as being a fundamental part of it.

It was next objected, that the extreme antiquity assigned to their Church by the Non-jurors, would explain the practice of Church absolution having been actually dispensed by them to such of their disciples as, from their exertions to maintain the Jus Divinum of James the Second and his hereditary successors, had fallen victims to the laws of an illegal prince. This, and other observances, not dissimilar to many practised in the Church of Rome, at length caused the Low Church Whigs to say (as Oldmixon assures us), "that Popery and High Church were interchangeable terms, meaning one and the same thing."

(c) IN THE THIRD PLACE—THE RESISTANCE OF HIGH CHURCH TORIES TO THE COMPREHENSION OF DISSENTERS WITHIN THE PALE OF HER COMMUNION.

A history of the Dissenters, as they were agitated by the question of "Comprehension," would occupy a volume; but the following brief notice may be acceptable.

At an early period of English dissent, namely, in the reign of Elizabeth, the Non-conformists conceived, that, by certain wholesome loppings and prunings, the English liturgy would have a still less resemblance to that of the Church of Rome, the least form or tenet of which they professed to abhor. The result which befel the failure of the scheme is to be read in certain of the events of the Great Rebellion.

Immediately before the revolution, however, the question of "comprehension" met with more favour. The seven Bishops who made so noble a stand for the liberties of the Church and Kingdom, did, in the petition to King James, declare, that their omission in not reading the Royal Declaration for liberty of conscience, was not from any want of due tenderness to the dissenters, in relation to whom they professed to be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and in convocation.

The revolution soon followed, when this question of "comprehension" was renewed. A petition was presented to King William upon his being called to the throne, that His Majesty would establish a firm union of His Protestant subjects in matters of religion, by making the rule of Christianity to be the rule of conformity; and that Queen Mary would be pleased to compose the differences between Her Protestant subjects and things of less moment concerning religion, and that the Clergy would consent to the terms of Union wherein all the reformed churches agree. King William accordingly listened to the object of the petition, and, for the purpose of facilitating a comprehension and coalition of the Dissenters with their Protestant Brethren, a convocation was summoned, in which a commission was granted to the Bishops and Doctors to review the liturgy; when several alterations were proposed with the intent to admit fifteen hundred ministers to officiate in the Churches.

Upon this occasion the object entertained by such of the Churchmen as were friendly to the question of comprehension, was, after the following manner, explained by Dr Patrick, Bishop of Ely:— "No alteration that I know of is intended but in things declared to be alterable by the Church itself. And, if things alterable be altered upon the grounds of Prudence and Charity; and things defective be supplied; and things abused be restored to their proper use; and things of a more ordinary composition be revised and improved,—while the doctrine, government and worship of the Church remain entire in all the substantial parts of them,—we have all reason to believe, that this will be so far from injuring the

Church, that, on the contrary, it will receive a very great benefit by it."

But this proposition, whatever moderation it might express, was unsuccessful. A majority, consisting of the High Church Party, was unwilling to concede any thing to the scruples of Dissenters, asserting the excellence of the Church of England, as by law established, above all other Christian Communities; and, in this most unsatisfactory state of indecision the convocation was broken up, without any thing being done towards compromising the differences which subsisted between the Establishment and the Dissenters; and, from this period, the High Church Party discovered an irreconcilable aversion to any accommodation with dissenters, and seemed only to wish for an occasion to renew old severities.

A very considerable party, however, of the Church of England was favourable to the comprehension of Dissenters within the pale of their communion, and upon this question of difference was founded the most prominent distinction of High and Low Church. The Bishop of Lincoln, who, at the Trial of Sacheverell, expressed an opinion favourable to "comprehension," has, in the following manner, explained the view of his party:—"As for any favour to the Dissenters, none here, that I know of, was intended, but what would have been entirely consistent with our own constitution; and I hope it will not be thought any crime for the Bishops and Clergy of our Church, to be willing to enlarge its communion, by any method which may be likely to gain others, and yet not injure our own establishment."

(d) IN THE FOURTH PLACE, THE OPINION OF HIGH CHURCH THAT IN A RELIGION OF THE STATE, SUCH AS THAT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CIVIL OFFICES CANNOT BE HELD EXCEPT BY SUCH AS ARE IN THE PALE OF HER COMMUNION;—WHENCE THE OPPOSITION OF HIGH CHURCH TO THE OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY OF THE DISSENTERS.

The opinion of High Church on the alliance of Church and State has not been ill expressed by Sacheverell. "The nature of our

constitution both in Church and State is so nicely correspondent and so happily intermixed, that 'tis hard to say whether the Doctrines of the Church of England contributed more to authorize and enforce our Civil laws, or our Laws to maintain and defend the doctrines of the Church."

And hence it was inferred, that the Dissenters who contemned the authority and precepts of the Church, were, in the same measure, inimical to the Laws of the State, and were consequently ineligible to fulfil offices of responsibility in either church or state.

In this sentiment the High Church party were the legitimate descendants of such of the Church of England, as, in the time of Charles the First, were disposed to make no concessions whatever to the scruples of the Puritans, and, after the restoration and revival of Episcopacy, to give no quarters to the Non-conformists, but, by severe tests, to exclude them, not only from the Pale of the Church, but even from civil privileges.

But at the time of the Revolution, the experience of the Great Rebellion and of the religious events succeeding to the restoration, had caused a very different spirit to prevail among those who administered the functions of the Church and State. In 1688, William the Third urged that the vacancies in offices and places of trust occasioned by the late revolution should be filled up, and for this purpose recommended, that while the oaths to be taken should sufficiently provide against Papists, they should leave room for the admission of all Protestants that were willing and able to serve. An act was therefore brought in, usually called the act of Toleration, for exempting Their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws, with the view to give some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion, and by an effectual means to unite them in interest and affection ;—the conditions being that they should profess their belief in the Holy Trinity and Scriptures ; that they should subscribe to the doctrinal articles only of the Church of England ; and that they should take the oaths to the Government.

This act long continued to give the greatest satisfaction to the

party opposed to High Church. "How many dissenters have we seen," remarked Lord William Paulet (at the trial of Sacheverell), "who, since the Toleration, are become sincere converts to the Church. And I may say that by this Toleration the prejudices of the Dissenters, in general, wear off, and the number daily decreases."

In the further course of framing these provisions for tender consciences, various attempts were made by High Church, either to render the toleration more limited, or even to render the act powerless. It was, for instance, proposed, to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament, in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of trust. But this proposition was negatived by a majority of both Parties. There was again another clause rejected, namely, that any man should be sufficiently qualified for any office, who, within a year before or after his admission, did receive the sacrament, either according to the usage of the Church of England, or in any other Protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister. A proposition also to take off the necessity of kneeling at the sacrament shared the same fate. Eventually, however, the state of the law admitted of the following practice:—Preparatory to accepting public offices of trust or magistracy, the Dissenters would comply with the conditions of the act of William and Mary, by taking the sacrament according to the form of the Church of England, and, after this ceremony was over, they would continue to frequent, as usual, the dissenting meeting-houses of which they were members.

But it does not appear that this practice of occasional conformity met with general approbation, even among such as were inclined to otherwise favour the Dissenters. It was by many regarded as a subterfuge, which no circumstances of civil disability for conscience sake could morally justify. Queen Anne was, therefore, urged to send a message to the Commons, in condemnation of the practice. Accordingly, Her Majesty, in her zeal for the communion of the Church of England, and indignation at its violation,

after condemning all persecution for conscience sake, still conceived that a bill was demanded with the view of obviating a clause in the last act of toleration, by which occasional conformity met with encouragement. This measure, however, after two or three trials failed, on the plea that it was a scheme to set the Church and the Protestants at variance. The High Church party, in their disappointment, then visited the Dissenters with as much of the force of the existing law as they could advantageously wrest in their favour, on the plea that as occasional conformity declares that a man's conscience will let him conform, it follows that, in such a man, Non-conformity would be a wilful sin. The practice of occasional conformity was also denounced as a scandalous hypocrisy, and, in Lancashire, as " a Presbyterian Trick."

In the year 1705, the High Churchmen of the House of Lords took it in hand to obviate the subterfuge. Aware, however, that their Royal Mistress had often expressed herself favourable to toleration, they were the more cautious not to give offence by any opposition to this sentiment. After declaring, therefore, that the persecution of Protestants was contrary to the Christian religion and the doctrine of the Church of England, and that the act of Toleration ought to be kept inviolably, they still conceived that the indulgence conceded to Dissenters was one of which the Papist was enabled to avail himself. Accordingly, under a shew of passing an act for the further prevention of Popery, by which any person obliged to take the oath of allegiance must declare himself to be a member of the Church of England as by law established, they attempted, by a sort of side wind, to make the penalty fall upon the dissenters, by ordaining that if any one after that period should frequent any conventicle, he was to forfeit L.100 for every time that he should be so present.

But High Church was the most successful under the auspices of a Tory ministry. Their object against the dissenters seemed then on the point of being fulfilled. In the year 1711 a bill obtained the Royal assent which enacted, " that if any persons in office, who by the laws were obliged to qualify themselves by receiving sacrament, as a test, should ever resort to a conventicle, or meeting

of dissenters for religious worship, during the time of their continuance in such office, they should forfeit L.20 for every such offence, and be disqualified for any office for the future, till they had made oath that they had entirely conformed to the Church, and had not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year."

After the death of Queen Anne, Whig councils were revived, and, when the King, in expressing his regard for the Church of England, declared in favour of Toleration, the disappointment of the High Church Tories knew no rational bounds whatever. Sacheverell riots followed, and eventually Rebellion.

(e) THE OCCASIONAL DIFFICULTY OF DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW CHURCH.

After having inquired into the characteristics of High Church, those of "Low Church" are very readily defined, as they merely exhibit antagonist features. "Low Church," was opposed, 1st, to the Church doctrine of Passive obedience and Non-Resistance; 2dly, to the transcendental views which were taken of the infallibility, antiquity and authority of the Church of England; 3dly, Low Church was favourable to the comprehension of dissenters within the pale of the communion of the Church of England; and, 4thly, it was favourable to Toleration, but divided on the question of occasional conformity.

In some instances, however, the distinction between High and Low Church appear so faint to the historian, that it requires no little degree of judgment to make the necessary discrimination. Of this difficulty two instances may be given: the first of Queen Anne, and the second of a very eminent Divine of Lancashire, Warden Wroe of the Manchester Collegiate Church.

(f) QUEEN ANNE'S PRINCIPLES REFERRED TO LOW CHURCH.

In the year 1702, this Princess came in for her full share of

blame, in not going to the full extent of the sentiments professed by High Churchmen and the old Cavaliers in Her conduct towards the Dissenters. Her Majesty stated, that although Her own principles would always keep her entirely firm to the interests and religion of the Church of England, yet that she should be careful to preserve and maintain the act of Toleration. It has been remarked by a contemporary writer, Oldmixon, that this middle line of conduct was not every thing that the High Church Tories expected.

And in the year 1710, even during the Sacheverell ferment, when High Church Toryism was in the ascendancy, the Queen declared, in an address to Her Parliament, 1st, for the support of the Church of England as by law established; 2dly, for the British Constitution as by law established; 3dly, for indulgence to tender consciences; and 4thly, for the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover. In this declaration it is evident, that along with an uncompromising declaration for the integrity of the Church of England in all Her existing institutes, two, at least, of the articles in the declaration are characteristic of Low, rather than of High Church.

(g) THE PRINCIPLES OF DR WROE, WARDEN OF MANCHESTER COLLEGE, REFERRED TO THOSE OF LOW CHURCH.

Sacheverell, in his enumeration of "False Brethren," a term which he substituted for that of Low Church, did not even spare such members of the Church of England, as almost vied with High Church in taking an exalted view of the excellence of the Church of England, as by law established, when contrasted with the creeds and professions of other sects, including those of Roman Catholics, and of the Protestant Dissenters, or Nonconformists of England. "How often have I heard silver-tongued Wroe," says his panegyrist, "with manly eloquence, display the frauds and deep wrought machinations of the Papists, Presbyterians, and other sectaries, against the Church of England;

heard him instil into his hearers the utmost regard for Her principles, doctrines, and worship; defend Her articles, and prove Her from scriptures and the fathers to be the only pure, undefiled church this day upon earth."—[Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 54.]

Yet even this Divine did not escape the censure of Sacheverell, who, being a native of the neighbouring county of Derby, must have been very familar with Dr Wroe's eminent clerical character. Without many scruples, therefore, he at once assigned him a conspicuous place in his classification of "FALSE BRETHREN." "There is yet another sort of False Brethren," said this declaimer, "who wish well to the Church of England, and really believe Her constitution in doctrine, discipline and worship, the best and the purest in the Christian world; and when either their tongues, hands, or purses, are wanting in defence, are ready to sacrifice their persons and estates in Her vindication. These indeed are noble qualifications, and 'tis pity so good a character should want any thing to complete it. And, to turn the words of our Blessed Saviour to the rich man, Yet one thing thou lackest, —thy zeal is to be shewn 'in' as well as 'for' the communion of the Church, in obeying Her precepts, as well as defending Her rights. In all these cases, there is a serious and deliberate act of treachery against conscience and conviction, a base forfeiture of that spiritual allegiance we owe to God, and our Church, as a sacred body and fraternity, that ought to preserve inviolate unity, professing one faith, one baptism, one God, and Saviour of us all."—[Sacheverell's Sermon.]

(h) LOW CHURCH DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES FROM HIGH CHURCH, IN THEIR AVERSION TO ANY INTERCOURSE WHATEVER WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Amidst the contentions of Whigs and Tories, there was no circumstance in which High and Low Church differed from each other more than in the favour, or otherwise, which each party was disposed to shew towards the Roman Catholics.

The Low Church, in partaking of the Whig sentiments, would have shrunk with horror from any friendly alliance whatever with Papists, and more particularly when the object was to restore the House of Stuart. While they considered that the Presbyterians, and other Protestant Dissenters, had not forfeited their civil privileges, or their claim to be "comprehended" within the pale of their communion, it was against Papists and Socinians that they were assiduously employed in fencing their revered Church. In embracing this sentiment, therefore, they took every occasion to denounce the opposite conduct of the High Church Tories, who, with Roman Catholic allies, as will be seen in an ensuing chapter, took an active part in promoting the reinstatement upon the throne of England of a Prince, who, in Low Church language, was a Popish Pretender.

"If the Pretender should prevail," said such of the Bishops as fell under the stigma of being Low Church, "what can the Church of England expect but Ruin and Destruction? A Popish Prince upon the throne, bigotted to his religion, and heated with what will then be called 'ill usage,' together with a long train of Papists in the succession, can bode nothing but fatal and irrecoverable ruin to it."—[Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops in and near London, 1715.]

CHAPTER V.

THE CO-OPERATION OF HIGH CHURCH TORIES WITH ROMAN CATHOLICS, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN LANCASHIRE.

"Some of the Conspirators were Protestants of the Church of England, as they called themselves; and though Popery and Protestancy are like the image of Nebuchadnezzar, whose feet are clay and iron which will not mix well together, yet here they did both agree to disturb the public peace."—[Sir GILES EYRES's Charge to the Grand Jury at Manchester in 1694.]

IT has been explained, that the Church of England was resolvable into two divisions; that a test of this distinction was afforded in the inclination, or otherwise, to shew favour to the Roman Catholics; and that "Low Church" would have shrunk with horror from any union with Papists. Very different, however, was the conduct of High Church.

The co-operation of High Church Tories and Roman Catholics in the common object of Jacobitism was developed immediately after the Revolution. In Lancashire, where the Papists were very numerous, widely extended plots began to be hatched, in which two general classes of Jacobites were induced to coalesce. The first of them included such of the ancient families as, during the Great Rebellion, had shed their best blood, and sacrificed much of their property in the cause of the Stuart succession;—which families, actuated by a common motive of attachment to a fallen Royal House, were variously Protestants and Roman Catholics. Again, another description of plotters included those

who, on High Church principles, were indignant that King William, with the view of conciliating the Nonconformists, should have attempted, by a bill of comprehension and indulgence, to invite these Dissenters to again enter within the pale of the English Church.

Such was the character of the two great parties who combined in the Lancashire plot, as it was named, of the reign of King William.

In the year 1689, the expected rising of the Jacobites of Lancashire, aided by the Irish, was counteracted by the exertions of Lord Delamere, who promptly invited a muster of Lancashire and Cheshire men upon Bowdon Downs, near Altringham. But in 1694, the same attempt was renewed in a still more deep-laid conspiracy, which, having been early discovered, led to the apprehension of the conspirators, among whom were Lord Molyneux, Sir William Gerrard, Sir Thomas Clifton, Mr Leigh of Lyme, and others. A special commission was sent down to Manchester to arraign the offenders, when Sir Gyles Eyres, in his charge to the Jury, reminded them, that some of the conspirators were Protestants of the Church of England, as they called themselves, and that although Popery and Protestancy were like the image of Nebuchadnezzar, whose feet were clay and iron, which would not mix well together, yet that here they did both agree to disturb the public peace. If, after this charge and the evidence produced, the leaders of the plot escaped, their acquittal was due to the adroit manner in which their defence was conducted. That a serious and widely extended plot existed to reinstate the abdicated king, not a shadow of doubt can be entertained.—[Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 36.]

After the memorable trial in Manchester of the Lancashire Jacobites, which was considered in its result as a triumph for the accused, the numerous Roman Catholic Priests and Jesuits in the county, aided by High Church, did not hesitate to attach to the Whigs and Presbyterians the infamy due to perjured witnesses.

In the course of these conspiracies, while the High Church

Tories were coalescing with the Roman Catholics for a common purpose, they found how remarkably the political, and, in some degree, the religious sentiments of each party were in correspondence. For instance, the Roman Catholics, like the Tories, exhibited the self-same irreconcilable aversion as their High Church colleagues professed towards their ancient opponents the Presbyterian Dissenters, and the Whigs. Hence, no small degree of religious cordiality between the two parties ensued; and when many Non-juring Tories, in claiming for their Church an antiquity, or universality, superior even to that of Rome itself, thought fit, at the same time, to adopt many Popish rites and observances, they appeared in still closer approximation with the Roman Catholics, so as to give their sneering enemies occasion to say (as I have already remarked), that "Popery and High Church were interchangable terms for one and the same thing."

In a political point of view, Non-jurors and Roman Catholics were always classed together. Soon after the attack had been made by High Church against the Presbyterians, in which many meeting-houses had been destroyed, it was suspected, and perhaps with reason, that Papists had assisted in this crusade. Accordingly, on July 29. 1715, a proclamation was published, ordering all Papists to depart from London and Westminster by the 8th of August ensuing; and as there was reason to suppose that the late riots were promoted by Papists, Non-jurors and other disaffected persons, in expectation of being supported from abroad, and as advice was received that the Pretender was about to invade the kingdom, all the laws were ordered to be put in strict execution against Papists and Non-jurors; all Papists and reputed Papists were to be disarmed, and their horses above L.5 value were to be seized and sold; also the Declaration against Transubstantiation was to be administered to Papists, and the oath of abjuration to Non-jurors.—[RAE'S History of the Rebellion, p. 171, &c.]

Lastly, upon the actual breaking out of the Rebellion, the co-operation of the High-Church Tories and Roman Catholics met

with the following strictures in the declaration, published in November 1715, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London :—

"We are not surprised, that Papists should rise up against a government which they would never yet own, and endeavour to set a person upon the throne, who will establish their religion, and ruin ours ; though rebellion is but an ill return for the quiet they have enjoyed. But that professed members of the Church of England should join with them in this, and, out of private discontents, attempt to set up a person whom they have so often and so lately abjured, is so vile and detestable a thing, as may justly make them odious both to GOD and man. But, at the same time, to pretend a zeal for the Church, that is, to join with Papists to set up a Popish Pretender to support the Church of England, is such an imposition upon the common sense of mankind, that nothing, even in Popery itself, can be more absurd, and nothing but an infatuation from GOD, justly inflicted for our sins, can suffer to pass upon the nation."

CHAPTER VI.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PRESBYTERIAN JACOBITES OF SCOTLAND WERE AFFECTED TOWARDS THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES OF ENGLAND, WITH WHOM THEY WERE ENGAGED IN THE INSURRECTION OF 1715.

The Scottish Jacobites, who, in the year 1715, rose up in arms against the Union, and in favour of the ancient monarchy of Scotland, were, with few exceptions, Presbyterians. It is most important, therefore, for the better comprehension of the events of the Rebellion, to inquire in what manner they were affected towards

the English parties of very different religious persuasions, with whom they entered into an armed confederacy.

But in this inquiry may be first noticed,—the early introduction of Toryism among the Scots; the declaration of the Scottish Jacobites against the Union, and in favour of the ancient Sovereignty of Scotland; and their assertion of the right of James the Eighth to the Crown of Scotland.

(a) TORYISM INTRODUCED AMONG THE SCOTS.

Although Scotland appears to have acquiesced with England in the principles which gave rise to the abdication of James, and the Revolution of 1688 in general, there still existed certain faithful adherents to the exiled monarch. These were, no doubt, the evil counsellors alluded to by the Prince of Orange upon first landing in England, who had conceived that they could not better serve the Jacobite cause than by introducing into Scotland the principles of Toryism. "Those evil counsellors," to quote the words of the manifesto, "have also prevailed with the King to declare in Scotland that he is clothed with absolute power, and that all the subjects are bound to obey him without reserve. Upon which he has assumed an arbitrary power both over the religion and the laws of that Kingdom; from all which it is apparent what is to be looked for in England, as soon as matters are duly prepared for it."—(See Declaration, dated 10th October 1688.)

(b) DECLARATION AGAINST THE UNION, AND THE RIGHT OF JAMES VIII. TO THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND ASSERTED.

In the Autumn of 1715 the Earl of Mar, who acted as Lieutenant-General of the Chevalier de St George, otherwise James the Third of England, and the Eighth of Scotland, found himself supported by numerous Scottish Chieftains, and firmly established in the influential town of Perth. He was at the head of various

clans amounting to twelve thousand men, by whom James the Eighth was proclaimed in different parts of the Highlands.

The manifesto published by Mar fully explains the principles which actuated the Scottish Insurgents. They asserted the undoubted right of James the Eighth to the Crown of Scotland, whose restoration, they believed, would relieve the ancient kingdom of Scotland from various oppressions and grievances ascribed to the Union.

(c) THE DIFFICULTY OF THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS IN DECLARING FOR A POPISH PRINCE.

The feeling of religious animosity entertained by the older Scottish Presbyterians against Popery exceeded, if possible, what is recorded of English Puritans and Presbyterians. The circumstance, therefore, of taking up arms for a Roman Catholic Prince was one of no little difficulty, which nothing perhaps could have subdued but the Tory principle which had been industriously disseminated among Scotsmen by the "evil counsellors," as they were styled, of whom the Prince of Orange had early complained.

In the manifesto published by Mar, the Scottish Jacobites professed the Tory doctrine, that they were bound to their native-born, rightful Sovereign, James, by the laws of God; and that nothing would absolve them from this their duty of subjection and obedience. But, as the Scots were Presbyterians, and as James lay under the revolting reputation of being a Papist, they qualified their dislike on this score by the hope, that, "in due time, good example and conversation with their learned Divines would remove the prejudices which they were aware their lawful sovereign must have acquired from education in a Popish country; and they trusted that, by the wisdom of New Parliaments, such laws would be enacted, as would give an absolute security to them and future ages for the true Protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, Popery, and all its other enemies."

(d) THE DIFFICULTY OF THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS IN CO-OPERATING WITH THE ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

There remained again another difficulty of the Scottish Presbyterians, besides declaring for a Popish Prince. They found that not only some of their Scottish leaders were Roman Catholics, as, for instance, the Earl of Nithsdale and a few others, but that in England they were doomed to be leagued together, as comrades, with a far greater number of the sect whose principles they most regarded with horror. Most assuredly, the Scottish Presbyterians and English Papists formed a "melange" ill calculated to act well and harmoniously, in concert. For instance, the small force which Northumberland raised in 1715 to join the Jacobite ranks was composed of a mixture of High Church Tories and Roman Catholics, in, perhaps, nearly equal proportions. In Lancashire, however, a great majority of the force raised in this county consisted of Papists, much to the disturbance of the Scottish division of the Insurgents, and, consequently, to the ultimate success of the Jacobite campaign. Thus, when the Rebel army had arrived at Lancaster, Mr Patten relates, that "a great many Lancashire gentlemen joined them with their servants and friends. But," as he adds, "it is true they were most of them Papists, which made the Scots gentlemen and the Highlanders mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the reason; for they expected all the High Church Party to have joined them."

(e) THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES OF ENGLAND.

It is quite certain that the Scottish Presbyterians belonging to the Insurgent force would never have entered England, if they had not expected, according to the professions held out to them, particularly by letters from certain Sacheverell disturbers of the peace at Manchester, that they would be joined by, at least,

twenty thousand High Church Tories. And even if such had been the result, it is doubtful if the parties would have acted well in concert. It is true that the Tory principle of the Jus Divinum, unaffected by the profession of any particular religion whatever, was common to all sects composing the Jacobite ranks. But the fact, that the Scottish Insurgents professed the self-same tenets as those of the English Presbyterians, which had been ever held in the greatest abhorrence by the High Church Tories, did not promise much for a cordial co-operation. Thus, at the very time when the Rebellion broke out, one of the dangers of the Church was alleged to be from the act which had been passed in Queen Anne's reign, for confirming the worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland, by which Episcopacy was supposed to have been put in jeopardy,—which act had caused a High Church Tory, Sir John Packington, to declare in parliament, that, with regard to the union of Scotland and England, "he could not think without horror of being united with Presbyterians." And, again, another danger was referred to the national inclination of the People of Scotland as a body, who, it was affirmed by some of the High Church Tories, "never wanted the will to destroy their Church."

(f) THE WHIG GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS, AS ONE UNITED PARTY, ARRAYED AGAINST THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS, THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES, AS ANOTHER CONFEDERATE PART.

These most curious intermixtures of contending parties, by which English Presbyterians were arrayed against Scottish Presbyterians, was shewn when the rebel army in 1715 was approaching Preston. It was then that a band of English Presbyterians which had been organised in an obscure village of Lancashire, named Chowbent, under the command of their enthusiastic religious Pastor, volunteered in aid of the Whig Government, and was actually employed by General Wills in defending

the pass of the Ribble Bridge. Their opponents, as I have shewn, formed the heterogeneous mixture already described, of Scottish Presbyterians, embracing the self-same tenets as those of the English Presbyterians, and of Roman Catholics, among whom were interspersed a few High Church Tories.

Such was the composition of the two contending forces in 1715. When it is considered, that the Jacobite army was composed of such discordant ingredients as Scottish Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and High Church Tories, we cannot be surprised at the total want of unanimity which all historians ascribe to the insurgent campaign of 1715.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TORYISM OF THE REBELLION OF 1715 WAS INVOKED TO AID OTHER MOTIVES, POLITICAL AS WELL AS RELIGIOUS.

The research which has been instituted leads to the following general conclusion, as applicable to the Jacobite Force.

It is evident, that while Toryism is a word expressive of a party principle entertained, the term Jacobitism indicates the point towards which it was directed, namely, the restoration of the House of Stuart.—But it must ever be kept in view, that, with the revolution of 1688, Toryism had received such a wound, that it never could have recovered the vigour requisite for an armed rebellion, if it had not been for the accession of strength which it derived from being conjoined with other motives, religious as well as political.

Thus, among Scotsmen, Toryism acquired strength when reinforced by the desire to relieve the kingdom of Scotland from various oppressions attributed to the Union, and by the wounded pride which was felt at the loss of its ancient line of monarchy.

Among Roman Catholics, the cause of Toryism was supported by a sort of hereditary attachment which was felt to the Royal House of Stuart, towards the support of which, in the Great Rebellion, and in the cause of James the Second, the old Catholic families of Lancashire had made enormous sacrifices of life and fortune; which kindly feeling had been first engendered by the sympathy expressed by Charles the First, and continued among his Royal descendants, for the series of privations and persecutions which this once potent religious party had sustained, ever since the period of the Reformation.

And, lastly, among High Churchmen, — Toryism became strengthened by the resentment which was first felt at the attempt of William to throw open the barriers of the church, so as to include the dissenters in a bill of comprehension. This aggrieved party, therefore, impatient under the Toleration recommended from the throne, eventually relieved themselves from all allegiance to the House of Hanover, by upholding the Tory or Jacobite principle of the Jus Divinum, as vested in the succession OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART.

LANCASHIRE

DURING THE REBELLION

OF 1715.

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BY

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PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
MDCCCXLV.

PREFACE.

THE Chetham Society has proposed to follow up the highly valuable collections made by Mr Ormerod, the learned Historian of Cheshire, of the share which Lancashire had in the Great Rebellion, by publishing the events of subsequent insurrections, ending with those of 1745.

In a chronological point of view, "the Lancashire Plots" of 1694, form an earlier object of consideration, regarding which, several publications of that period furnish satisfactory data.

The movement which succeeded to that of the Lancashire Plots occurred in 1715. Numerous authentic documents have commemorated the leading part assigned to Scotland in that eventful conflict. Northumberland also, which took an active share in the Rebellion, has had justice done to Her Jacobite exertions, in the very detailed and valuable History of the Reverend Robert Patten, himself a Northumberland man, who officiated in the Rebel Army as Chaplain to General Forster. But the participation which Lancashire had in the movement has been comparatively little recorded; although, no doubt, some light might have been thrown upon it, by the publication of archives still presumed to exist among the old Roman Catholic families of this county.

Accordingly, in entertaining the conviction that far less was known of the movement of 1715, than of any other memorable event occurring in the annals of Lancashire, my attention became directed to Scotland, as the country where many printed or manuscript documents might possibly be collected of the expedition of the Highland force sent to England. These accounts would be circulated, not only for the information of the Scottish Jacobites in general, and of the Insurgent army then quartered at Perth, but likewise for the satisfaction of such families as might have friends or relatives involved in the engagement at Preston, or immured in the dungeons of Lancashire, or of London.

In addressing myself, therefore, to the quarter where I could obtain satisfactory information on this question, I have now only one duty remaining, which is to state, that for the loan of the very scarce and inedited documents which have given the greatest aid to this publication, I am indebted to the kindness of an old and highly valued friend, Mr David Laing, of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, whose unwearied services in the editing and restoring of the ancient literature of Scotland, his country has often acknowledged with gratitude.

An account of the various works and authorities which are quoted in the present volume will follow this Preface. A perusal of them will at once shew to what extent I have laboured to supply the greatest of all blanks in Lancashire History.

SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE.

EDINBURGH, *March* 22. 1845.

LIST OF THE PRINTED WORKS AND VARIOUS RARE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE REBELLION OF 1715, WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED.

For the sake of aiding references, the authorities quoted in the present volume will be described at length.

They will be distinguished as (a) Historical Volumes; (b) Manuscripts; or (c) Printed Documents (chiefly broadside publications), which appeared during the course of the Rebellion.

(a) HISTORICAL VOLUMES CONSULTED RELATIVE TO THE INSURRECTION OF 1715.

1. The History of the late Rebellion, with original papers, and the Characters of the Principal Noblemen and Gentlemen concerned in it. By the Reverend Mr Robert Patten, formerly Chaplain to Mr Forster. The Second Edition, with large additions. London: printed for J. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster Row. 1717.

Patten, a King's evidence in 1716, has left behind him a valuable, though very ill-digested, history of the Rebellion, in which the narrative but too often appears given without any chronological order whatever. Occasionally also, he has been much too anxious to gratify the Whig Government who spared his life, by an unqualified abuse of Tory principles, and of the part which the High Church Tories took in the Rebellion.

This is almost the only work which describes the Lancashire incidents of the Rebellion, yet, strange to say, it appears to be a volume little known or availed of by our county historians. Such part of the narrative as relates to Lancashire affairs has been noticed in the present volume.

2. The History of the late Rebellion raised against His Majesty King George by the Friends of the Popish Pretender, containing an account, as well of

the Settlement of the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain, in the illustrious family of Hanover, and the Tory scheme to defeat it, during the last four years of the reign of Queen Anne, as of His Majesty's happy accession, the Rebellious Conspiracy formed by his Enemies, and the execution thereof; both by the High Church Mobs, on pretence of the Church's danger, under His Majesty's administration, and by the open Rebellion; which is here exposed in all its parts, from its first rise to its final exit. By a Lover of the Prosperity and Peace of Great Britain. Drumfries: printed by Robert Rae, and sold by him, and by Mr John Martin, in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh; John Wilson, in Glasgow; Bailie Duncan, in Kilmarnock; and other Booksellers. 1718.

This work was dedicated to the King, and bears the signature of Peter Rae, the author. It is in small quarto, and extends to 388 closely printed pages, independent of the index.

The volume of Rae, very scarce, is far the most valuable source of information relative to the Rebellion of 1715, as it contains references to all the journals of the day to which the author had access, and even includes much of the information communicated by Patten. This volume, as well as the last mentioned one, seems to have been unknown to Lancashire historians.

3. Oldmixon's History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart, &c. 2 vols. folio.

This work was published at successive periods. The second volume, in commencing with the reign of William and Mary, ends with that of George the First. It is the second volume which is referred to in this History.

As Oldmixon is a most virulent Whig writer, he becomes a dangerous guide to follow, except when he quotes from authentic state documents and authorities. With these, his work has the peculiar merit of being abundantly interspersed.

4. State Trial of the Earl of Wintoun, &c. 1716. Folio.

My own copy consists of a thin folio volume, published in 1716. The Rebel Lords, with the exception of the Earl of Wintoun, pleaded guilty, an account of whom, as well as of the executions of the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure, appears in a Collection of State Trials which has been recently published.

No other trials whatever of the rebels of 1715 having ever been printed, that of the Earl of Wintoun becomes highly important as an official document, the most interesting part of which relates to the capitulation of the Rebels at Preston.

5. The History of the Kingdom of Scotland, &c., &c. By J. W., M.D. Dublin: printed for the Author, &c. 1724. Small quarto. [In this work there is contained a separate letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to his friend in New England, entitled "An Impartial Account of the Rebellion in 1715;" and extending to 14 pages.]

This journal, which more relates to the Highland than to the Lancashire campaign, has, however, afforded me some interesting information.

6. A Collection of Original Letters and Authentic Papers relating to the Rebellion, 1715. Edinburgh: printed for the Publisher, and sold by several Booksellers in Town. 1730.

This refers more to the part which Scotland took in the Rebellion. It is a valuable collection of documents, consisting of the correspondence and proclamations which passed among the Highland chieftains. Some historical allusions, however, occasionally appear in the work, relative to English affairs.

7. A short view of the Life, Sentiments, and Character of Mr John Mort, in an Address to the Dissenters of Atherton, and in a Sermon preached in New Bent Chapel, January 20. 1788. By H. Toulmin. London, 1793.

It would scarcely be anticipated that a work, under the foregoing title, should contain the chief information which can be depended upon as authentic, relative to the share which the Presbyterians of Chowbent, in Lancashire, had in opposing the Rebellion of 1715.

8. History of the Transactions in Scotland in the years 1715–16 and 1745–46, &c. By George Charles. In 2 vols. Leith, 1817.

In the compilation of this work, Peter Rae's History seems to have been chiefly consulted. The matter contained in it has not afforded to this volume any aid.

9. History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1715–16, under the Earl of Mar. By Robert Chambers, &c. &c. Contained in the History of the Rebellions in Scotland, &c. &c. Published by Constable, in vol. xlii. of his Miscellany. 1829.

This is a brief and popular account of the affair of 1715, highly creditable to its well-known author. No pains have also been spared to render it valuable on the score of authenticity. For this purpose, Mr Chambers had access to the collections, which related to this period of Scottish History, in the possession of Mr Duncan M'Neill, advocate, at present the Right Honourable the Lord Advocate of Scotland. The narrative is not exactly confined to Scotland; it includes incidents which occurred in the English expedition.

10. History of the College and Collegiate Church, Manchester, founded by Thomas Lord de la Warre, A.D., MCCCCXII. By S. Hibbert, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c. From the History of the Foundations in Manchester, &c. 3 vols. Manchester: Thomas Agnew and Joseph Zanette. 1830.

In quoting the title of this work, the author is called upon to advert to his former labours in Lancashire History. In his endeavour to estimate the state of parties, both before and after the Rebellion of 1715, he had previously, in his account of the College and Collegiate Church of Manchester, gone over some little portion of the ground, which enabled him, on the present occasion, to execute his ardent task with much less embarrassment. In this, the author's earlier elaborate work, many of the authorities referred to in the present volume may be found.

11. History of the County Palatine, and Duchy of Lancaster. By Edward Baines, Esq. M.P. In 4 volumes. London: Fisher, Son, and Co. 1836.

The information which is contained in Mr Baines's work on the subject of the Rebellion of 1715, is very limited in extent. This was, no doubt, occasioned by the extraordinary mass of highly valuable documents brought forward, in the first place, to illustrate the earlier and very obscure Annals of Lancashire; and, in the second place, the actual, or existing, state of this great commercial county.

In these volumes the Earl of Wintoun's Trial appears to have been chiefly consulted. There are, however, interspersed, some curious notices relative to the Liverpool Trials, and the registering and sequestrations of the estates of delinquents, which, for the aid imparted to me, I have had occasion to acknowledge.

(b) MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED IN DRAWING UP THE PRESENT NARRATIVE.

12. A Journal of Several Occurrences from 2d November 1715, in the Insurrection began in Scotland, and concluded at Preston in Lancashire, on November 14. 1715. Kept by Peter Clarke.

This journal is given in Parts III. and IV. of the present volume.

The narrative thus edited, appears to be a plain and faithful register of events, accompanied with few or no comments, being the journal of a lawyer's clerk in Westmoreland, who, it may be conjectured, was attached to the Earl of Derwentwater's suite, on account of the professional assistance which he might be enabled to render this unfortunate nobleman in the management of his private affairs, during the imminent risk which his estates encountered of being forfeited.

The chief merit of this narrative is, that it details various incidents connected with the march of the Rebel Army through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, which have not appeared in any other narrative hitherto published. Its many deficiencies have been supplied through the medium of illustrative notes, which were intended to include all that I have yet been able to learn of Jacobite movements in this part of the route, as they appear interspersed in very scarce publications, or in the documents to which I have had access.

For the loan of this journal, I became indebted to the kindness of my friend, Mr David Laing, of the Signet Library, Edinburgh. The manuscript was purchased at the sale of the late George Chalmers, the learned author of Caledonia ; and it appears to have been previously in the possession of Anthony Keck, Esquire, whose name and armorial bearings appear on the cover. This gentleman was, I presume, a representative of the family of Keck

of Bank Hall, in the parish of Croston, Lancashire.—[See Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 406.]

The editing of Clarke's Journal of the Insurgent march, was, at first, the great object of the present work. In commencing at Penrith, it embraced all the events which took place in Lancashire. But I found that some general knowledge of the operations of the army prior to this period was desirable; otherwise, the narrative would have become a mere disjointed fragment. This knowledge was the more necessary, inasmuch as the explanation of previous occurrences involved an inquiry into the political state of Lancashire, which was the main cause of the conjoined rebel forces in the south of Scotland bending their course to this county, instead of reinforcing the Earl of Mar in the Scottish Highlands.

Nothing more was required, however, than a very slight sketch of the march of the Rebel Army from Scotland to Cumberland. Upon this being achieved, it was expected that the reader would be fully prepared to enter upon the narrative which is now edited; —which commences with the march of the Insurgents subsequent to their appearance at Penrith Fell, and ends with the engagement at Preston.

13. A small quarto volume in MS., written by William Stout of Lancaster, a Quaker, in the form of a Journal, embracing a period of more than 60 years, viz., from about 1679 to 1743.
14. A MS. History of the Beswicke Family of Pike House, in the Parish of Rochdale.

For the highly interesting extracts, given in the course of the present work, from the two manuscript volumes above described (which I have not myself inspected), I have to thank the Reverend F. R. Raines, M.A., of Milnrow Parsonage, near Rochdale.

(c) THE PRINTED DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY BROADSIDE PUBLICATIONS, WHICH APPEARED DURING THE COURSE OF THE EVENTS OF 1715 AND 1716.

The whole of such as I have consulted, relative to Lancashire affairs, are selected from the very extensive collection made of

documents relative to the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, by David Laing, Esquire, of the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

15. A Letter about the Occurrences in the Way to and at Preston. By a Gentleman, who was an Eye-Witness to the said Transactions. 8 pp.

This scarce and valuable document was printed for private circulation among the Scottish Jacobites. It is quoted in the present work as the Journal of a Merse Officer; the writer having served in the Merse, or Berwickshire troop of the Hon. James Hume. In importance, this journal does not yield to the narrative of Clarke, particularly on account of its having been the comment of a military man, evidently bred up in camps. In fact, without the aid of this narrative, it became impossible for me to reconcile many of the events related by Patten and other writers. For, whenever a transaction was intended to be discussed, which demanded some military knowledge, I found that a distortion of its real circumstances was the invariable consequence.

In the present volume the whole of the Merse officer's journal has been embodied.

16. A Declaration of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London, testifying their abhorrence of the Present Rebellion; with an exhortation to the Clergy and the people under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to His Majesty King George. London, printed by John Basket, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and, Edinburgh, reprinted for John Colston, 1715. pp. 8.

This declaration was deemed so important towards an estimate of the false position which the High Church Tories maintained during the course of the Rebellion, that it has been reprinted in an entire state.—[See page 261.]

17. The Takeing of the town of Preston from the Rebells by King George's forces.

A lithograph of the same appears in the present work.

It may be proper to state, that this is not given from the same plan which Mr Baines has copied in the 4th volume of his Lancashire. Of the two, it is perhaps the most correct one.

This plan was accompanied by "an exact draught of the gagg taken from the Rebells at Preston." [See page 185.]

18. Edinburgh, November 16. 1715.—A copy of three letters, giving an account of the total defeat of the Rebels at Prestoun, in Lancashire.

19. A List of the most considerable of the Scots and English Noblemen and Gentlemen, with the number of their Servants, taken Prisoners at Preston, 13th of November 1715. Edinburgh: printed by John Moncur, 1715.

20. A Letter from a Gentleman in Prestoun to his Friend in the King's Camp at Perth.

The document, No. 20, is from the printing-press attached to the Earl of Mar's camp at Perth. It relates to the execution of the four officers who were tried by a court-martial at Preston. Some years ago, I remember seeing a printed declaration which one of them left behind him, drawn up in a very superior manner; but every inquiry which I instituted after it in Edinburgh, during the course of the last winter, has been fruitless.

21. A Letter from a Quaker in Lancashire to his Friend at Berwick, concerning the Times. Edinburgh: printed by J. M., 1715.

22. [A document, from a broadside, printed in double columns, with the following title:]—

"The names of the prisoners try'd at Liverpool, from the 20th of January last, to the 4th of February following, are plac'd in the following list in the same order as they were try'd:—All the Scots are said to be of Prestoun, because the certain places of their abode in their own country were not known. Those with this mark [*] to them were found Guilty; those marked thus [†] pleaded Guilty; and those with no marks were Acquitted."

No. 22 is an unfinished list. In giving the three concluding names, it is said that "no sentences were passed;" and, at the end of the document it is added—"Convicted, 62. Acquitted, 6."

23. The Last Speech and Confession of Roger Moncaster, High Church Attorney, who was Executed at Preston, for High Treason against His Majesty.

24. A Full and Compleat Account of the Scots and English Noblemen and Gentlemen that were taken at the Battle of Preston, and now brought to London. London, Dec^{r} 10.

25. A Letter from Mr Forster, Briggadeer of his Majesty's Forces, to His Grace the Earl of Mar. [A Lampoon.]

26. The Speech of James Earl of Derwentwater, who was Beheaded on Tower Hill for High Treason against His Majesty King George. Feb^{y} 24. 1715-16.

27. The Viscount of Kenmure's Behaviour on the Scaffold, with a Coppy of a Letter to the Pretender, found in his Pocket after his Execution.

28. Brigadier M'Intosh's Farewell to the Highlands. To an excellent new Tune. From a broadside, printed in double columns, without any date or place of printing.

29. The Last Speech of Colonel Oxburgh, who was Executed at Tyburn, May 14, 1716. Delivered by him to the Sheriffs, and printed at London by their order.
Edinburgh: reprinted by William Adams, Junior, and Sold at the Printing-house, opposite the Trone Church. 1716.

30. To Mr William Thomas. Signed R. W.

O Free-Born Britons, since a tyrant reigns,
Assert your liberty, shake off your chains.

4 pages small 4to.

A violent remonstrance on the state of the nation.

31. A True Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs of London by Richard Gascoigne, who was Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd at Tyburn, for High Treason against His Majesty King George. Published by order of the Sheriffs of London, according to the copy printed at London, for Samuel Crombe and Andrew Bell in Cornhill, and Sold by J. Baker in Paternoster Row. 1716.

32. A True Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs of London, by Wm. Paull, a Clergyman, and John Hall, Esq., late Justice of the Peace in Northumberland, who were Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered at Tyburn, for High Treason against His Majesty King George. July the 13th, 1716. Published by order of the Sheriffs of London. To which are added, Three Letters from Mr Paul to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Townshend. Edinburgh: reprinted for Mr Paton, George Steuart, and William Brown, Booksellers, and Sold at their Shops. Anno Dom. MDCCXVII. Price 2d.

33. A List of the Gentlemen Prisoners at London [Scotsmen] set at liberty —out of Marshalsea—out of Newgate.

34. A List of the Evidences at Carlisle. December 1716.

35. A List of the Scots Noblemen and Gentlemen that are designed for England. Edinburgh: printed by Margaret Reid.

36. A True Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs, by Captain John Bruce, who was Execute at Lancaster the 2d of October 1716.

37. Anno Primo Georgii Regis. An Act to indemnifie such persons who have acted in defence of His Majesty's person and Government, and for the preservation of the public peace of this kingdom, in and about the time of the late unnatural Rebellion, from vexatious suits and prosecutions. Edinburgh: printed by James Watson, one of His Majesty's Printers. 1716.

The printed documents, under the head of Broadside Publications, &c., are, with the exception of a very few only, reprinted in the present work.

[No. 37 of the foregoing list is, in point of date, the latest which I find in the Edinburgh collection. In page 243, however, other documents, consisting of Acts of Parliament, are referred to, which, being of less moment to the object of the present history, have been explained in connection with Mr Baines's account of the registering and sales which took place of the Lancashire estates belonging to the Non-jurors and Roman Catholics. The most recent of these acts (see History of Lancashire, vol. iv., p. 449), escaped my attention. It occurs in a notice regarding the estates of Henry Butler of Rawcliffe, who, with his son, Richard Butler, had been engaged in the Rebellion, which were sold to Edward Roe, Gent., by virtue of an Act of Parliament, of the date of 4 George I., 1718, entitled, "An act for vesting the forfeited estates in Great Britain and Ireland in trustees, to be sold for the use of the public, and for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining their claims; and for the more effectually bringing into the respective exchequers the rents and profits of the said estates." It was also by virtue of the same act that the estate of Halton Hall, in the Lonsdale Hundred, belonging to the Caruses, was sold to one of the Bradshaws of Preesal and Scales.—Baines's Lancashire, vol. iv., p. 587.]

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE EVENTS OF CHURCH AND STATE WHICH PRECEDED AND ACCOMPANIED THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSURRECTION OF 1715.

Page

CHAP. I. THE SCOTTISH JACOBITES DECLARE AGAINST THE UNION, AND FOR THE ANCIENT SOVEREIGNTY OF SCOTLAND, . . . 1

CHAP. II. THE POLITICAL EVENTS OF ENGLAND WHICH PRECEDED THE REBELLION OF 1715, ... 2

CHAP. III. CHURCH EXCITEMENTS OF ENGLAND PRECEDING THE INSURRECTION OF 1715, ... 5

(a) The general alarm of danger to the Church, . . 6

(b) The greatest danger apprehended from Presbyterian designs, ... 7

(c) Sacheverell's Classification of the "False Brethren" who would betray the Church into the hands of Her enemies, ... 9

(d) The State Prosecution of Dr Sacheverell, . . 12

(e) The national excitement which followed Sacheverell's impeachment, ... 13

(f) A Schism Bill contemplated by the High Church Tories, 14

(g) The renewal of the Sacheverell excitement caused by the declaration of King George in favour of Toleration, 15

(h) The organization of Sacheverell Mobs in Lancashire, and other localities, to root out schism, ... 16

(i) The measures taken by Government to suppress these mobs, which were growing into rebellion, . 18

Page

CHAP. IV. THE JACOBITE PLOTS WHICH BEGAN TO BE FORMED, . . 20

(a) The Jacobite Plots of Scotland, ... ib.

(b) The Jacobite Plots of England, ... 21

(c) The announcement that Rebellion was about to ensue, . ib.

CHAP. V. THE BREAKING OUT OF THE REBELLION IN SCOTLAND, . 22

CHAP. VI. THE JACOBITE INSURRECTIONS OF ENGLAND, . . . 24

(a) Disaffections in various large towns of England, . ib.

(b) The Rising in Northumberland, . . . 25

(c) The High Church Tories of Manchester threaten to join the Insurgents of Scotland, ... 26

(d) The Jacobite cause in Lancashire most aided by the Roman Catholics, ... 29

(e) The remonstrance of King George against High Church, for promoting the Jacobite cause, . . . 30

PART II.

MARCH OF THE INSURGENTS OF 1715, FROM SCOTLAND, UNTIL THEY REACHED PENRITH IN CUMBERLAND.

CHAP. I. THE HIGHLAND FORCE UNDER THE EARL OF MAR, FROM WHICH A STRONG DETACHMENT WAS SENT TO ENGLAND, . . 33

CHAP. II. JOURNALS OF THE THREE CONFEDERATE FORCES, CONSISTING, FIRST, OF A DETACHMENT OF THE NORTH HIGHLANDERS UNDER BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH; SECONDLY, OF THE SOUTH COUNTRY SCOTS; AND, THIRDLY, OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS, — UNTIL THEY EFFECTED A JUNCTION AT KELSO, . . . 35

1st, Journal of the Highland Detachment under Brigadier Mackintosh, from Perth to Kelso, . . . ib.

2d, March of the Insurgents raised in the South of Scotland, from Moffat, in Annandale, to Kelso, . . 40

3d, The march of the Northumbrian Force from Plainfield to Kelso, ... 43

CHAP. III. JOURNAL OF THE MARCH, FROM THE JUNCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE TROOPS AT KELSO, TO LANGHOLM, WHERE IT WAS RESOLVED TO MARCH TO LANCASHIRE, . . . 51

CHAP. IV. THE MARCH FROM LANGHOLM TO PENRITH IN CUMBERLAND, 64

PART III.

THE MARCH OF THE INSURGENT FORCE IN 1715, FROM PENRITH, IN CUMBERLAND, TO PRESTON IN LANCASHIRE.

Page

A Journall of Severall Occurrences from 2d November 1715, in the Insurrection began in Scotland, and concluded at Preston in Lancashire, on November 14. 1715. By Peter Clarke, . . 71

§ 1. 2d Nov. 1715.—The Posse Comitatus on Penrith Fell, numb. 25000.—The Poss. Com. runs away, ... 73

2. Earl Derwentwater's men, 1700, entered Penrith, . . 75

3. The party sent to search for Lord Lonsdale, . . . 76

4. 3d Nov.—Marched for Appleby, ... 77

5. Nov. 3d, 4th, and 5th.—At Appleby, ... 78

6. 5th Nov.—Marched to Kendal, ... 80

7. 6th Nov.—They marched to Kirby-Lonsdale, . . . 84

8. 7th Nov.—They marched for Lancaster, . . . 85

9. Nov. 7th.—They call at Hornby Castle, ... 86

10. Nov. 7th.—They find the Pavement of Lancaster Bridge taken off, 87

11. Nov. 7.—They come into the towne of Lancaster, . . 89

12. The Esquires who joined them at Lancaster, . . . ib.

13. The Prisoners on the Crown side in Lancaster Castle set at liberty, 91

14. The search for armes at Lancaster, ... 92

15. Nov. 8th.—Reward offered for a Government spy, . . 93

16. Nov. 8th.—They examine the books of the Custom-house, . 93

17. They bring up the six ship guns from Sunderland, . . 94

18. Nov. 8th.—Mr Paul reads prayers in Lancaster Church, . ib.

19. The Gentlemen Soldiers drink tea with the Ladies of Lancaster, 96

20. A new Postmaster appointed, ... 97

21. Discourse about Religion, ... ib.

22. The parting, ... ib.

23. 9th Nov.—The Foot march to Garstang, and Horse to Preston, 99

24. Nov. 10th.—The Foot come into Preston, and many Papists join them here, ... 100

Activity of the Government forces at this time, . . 103

The inactivity of the Insurgent forces while at Preston, . 105

Page

25. Nov. 9th to 12th.—Courting and Feasting, . . . 107

The indifference of the Insurgents to the advance of the Government forces, attributable to the gaieties of Preston, 108

26. Preston surrendered to the two Generals Carpenter and Wills, &c. &c. [To be explained in Part iv.] 110

PART IV.

PRESTON FIGHT: BEING A SUPPLEMENT APPENDED TO THE JOURNAL OF PETER CLARKE.

Plan of "The Takeing of The Town of Preston," &c., . . 113

An Interval of Events, unnoticed by Peter Clarke, supplied, . 115

(a) The force with which General Wills marched towards Preston, . ib.

(b) The arming of the Presbyterians of Chowbent, near Wigan, . 116

(c) The incredulity of Forster upon hearing of General Wills's near approach, ... 118

(d) A Detachment of the Insurgents sets out to defend the Pass of the Ribble Bridge, ... 119

(e) The recommendation of Brigadier Mackintosh, as to the mode of defence which ought to be adopted by the Insurgents, . . ib.

§ 1. 12th November 1715.—General Wills and his men come to Walton-le-Dale, ... 121

(a) Wills crosses the Ribble Bridge, . . 122

(b) Wills prepares for the attack, . . . ib.

2. After retiring into Preston, there they make trenches and barricades, ... 124

Four barriers were formed, ... ib.

3. General Wills's men enter the Churchgate Street, . 125

Attack on the Churchgate barrier, . . . ib.

4. A party sent to burn the houses and barns where the Highlanders were, ... 127

The occupation of Sir Henry Houghton's house by the Government troops, ... ib.

Attack on the barrier commanded by Lord Charles Murray, ... 130

The loss sustained in the several foregoing attacks, 131

Page

5. Three hundred men enter the Back Street, . . 132
The attack on the Lancaster Lane, or Windmill barricade, ... ib.
6. Night approaching, ... 133
Concluding remarks on the success of Mackintosh's plans, ... 134
7. Nov. 13th.—General Carpenter and his men come up, . 136
Carpenter's superior arrangements, by which the whole town was surrounded, ... 137
8. A Cessation of Arms, ... 138
(a) The slight actions alluded to in Clarke's Narrative, 139
(b) The Treaty for Surrender, . . . ib.
(c) The infraction of the Armistice, . . 142
(d) Hostages required from the Insurgents, . . 143
9. 13th November.—They surrender and are made prisoners of war, ... 144
10. The numbers killed at Preston, ... 147
The two Generals' men plunder the town, . . 148

PART V.

LANCASHIRE EVENTS INTERVENING BETWEEN THE SURRENDER OF PRESTON, AND THE ABANDONMENT OF JACOBITE HOSTILITIES IN SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I. THE EARLY CONTRADICTORY ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED OF PRESTON FIGHT, ... 153

CHAP. II. THE INDECISIVE BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR, IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS, AND THE DISPIRITING EFFECT PRODUCED BY THE RESULT OF PRESTON FIGHT UPON THE JACOBITE CAUSE IN THE HIGHLANDS, ... 155

CHAP. III. THE BURIAL OF THE SLAIN;—THE DISPOSAL OF THE PRISONERS AT PRESTON, WITH THE ESCAPE OF SOME OF THEM;—AND THE NAMES OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS, . . . 157
(a) The Burial of the Slain, . . . ib.
(b) The manner in which the Insurgent prisoners were disposed of, ... 158
(c) The escape of many prisoners, ... 159

Page

(d) The names of the chief prisoners taken at Preston, . 159

A List of the most considerable of the Scots and English Noblemen and Gentlemen, with the number of their servants, taken prisoners at Preston, November 13. 1715, ... 160

Chap. IV. The Detention of Six Insurgent Officers at Preston, for Trial by Court-Martial;—Removal of the Chief Prisoners to Wigan, preparatory to their being sent to London; and the Disposal of the mass of them in the Jails of Chester, Lancaster, and Liverpool, . . 163

(a) The removal of the chief prisoners to Wigan, . . 164

(b) Escape of a few prisoners from Wigan, . . ib.

(c) The prisoners sent from Preston to Lancaster, . . ib.

(d) The prisoners sent to Chester, ... 165

(e) The prisoners sent to Liverpool, . . . 166

Chap. V. A Conversation at Wigan, in which Lord Widdrington, Brigadier Mackintosh, and the Earl of Derwentwater, took part, ... 167

Chap. VI. The Party Feuds which succeeded to the frustration of the Jacobite Cause at Preston, ... 170

(a) The complaints uttered against the High Church Tories by the Roman Catholics, the Scottish Jacobites, and others, ... ib.

(b) The exultation expressed in Lancashire by the religious sect named the Independents, at the feuds then subsisting among the High Church Tories, the Scottish Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, . . 173

Letter from a Quaker in Lancashire to his friend at Berwick, concerning the times, . . 174

Chap. VII. The Insurgent Officers tried at Preston, by Court-Martial, of whom four were shot, . . . 175

A Letter from a Gentleman in Preston, to his friend in the King's Camp at Perth, ... 177

Chap. VIII. The Transfer of the Chief Prisoners from Wigan to London, ... 181

An exact draught of the Gag taken from the Rebels at Preston, 185

(a) Names of the Prisoners, ... ib.

A Letter from Mr Forster, Brigadier of his Majesty's Forces, to his Grace the Earl of Mar. [A Lampoon.] . . 187

Page

CHAP. IX. THE ARRIVAL OF THE CHEVALIER ST GEORGE IN SCOTLAND, 189

CHAP. X. THE PRISONERS TRIED AT LIVERPOOL, AND THEIR SENTENCES, 190

(a) List of the Rebel Prisoners tried at Liverpool, to the 9th of February, with the dates of their trials, their designations, and their sentences, ... 192

(b) The High Sheriffs' charges, incidental to the Liverpool trials, ... 196

(c) Circuit of two Executioners through the chief towns of Lancashire, ... 197

CHAP. XI. THE INSURRECTION IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS ABANDONED, 203

CHAP. XII. SKETCH OF THE MORE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS IN ENGLAND RESULTING FROM THE REBELLION OF 1715, PARTICULARLY IN THE DECLINE OF HIGH CHURCH TORY INFLUENCE, . 205

PART VI.

LANCASHIRE EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED THE CESSATION OF JACOBITE HOSTILITIES.

CHAP. I. INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE TRIALS OF THE PRISONERS AT LONDON, ... 211

(a) The admission of the Rev. Robert Patten as King's Evidence, ... ib.

(b) Trial and Execution of the Earl of Derwentwater and the Viscount Kenmure, and the Earl of Nithsdale's escape, 212

(c) The Earl of Wintoun's trial, and escape from prison, 213

(d) The Courts appointed for trial of the gentlemen taken in the Rebellion, ... 214

(e) The escape of General Forster from Newgate, . . ib.

(f) The escape of Brigadier Mackintosh and others from Newgate, ... 215

Brigadier Mackintosh's Farewell to the Highlands, 216

(g) The trials of certain Prisoners at the Marshalsea, . 218

(h) The trial of Colonel Oxburgh, ... ib.

(i) Popular indignation, excited by the Jacobites, at the display of slaughtered relics upon Temple-Bar, . 220

(k) The unwillingness of the London Juries to convict, . 221

Page

(l) The trial of Mr Hall, Mr Gascoigne, and others, . 222

(m) The trial of Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, Mr Dalton of Thurnham, and others, ... 224

(n) The State measures which passed relative to the Insurgents, 226

(o) The reprieve of all the prisoners, with the exception of the Rev. Wm. Paul and Thomas Hall, Esq. of Otterburn, ib.

Chap. II. The Declarations of Paul and Hall attributed to the Authorship of Dr Deacon, subsequently of Manchester, and the great promoter of the Lancashire Movement of 1745, ... 228

The speech of William Paul, a clergyman, . . . 230

The speech of John Hall, Esq., ... 232

Chap. III. The Independent Communion promoted by the Non-Jurors, under the title of "The True Catholic Non-Juring Church of England," 235

Chap. IV. The Clemency shewn to Insurgent Prisoners in Scotland, in Contrast with the Proceedings still carried on in Lancashire, ... 237

(a) The trials of Scottish Insurgents at Carlisle, . . ib.

(b) The great mass of the Insurgents remaining in the prisons of Lancashire transported to the Colonies, . . 238

(c) The executions at Lancaster in the autumn of 1716, . 239

A True Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriff, by Captain John Bruce, who was executed at Lancaster, the 2d of October 1716, ... 241

Chap. V. The Measures for Strengthening the Allegiance towards the Government; and for refunding those who had suffered Losses during the Rebel Campaign, 243

(a) The Act against Roman Catholics, Non-Jurors, &c., . ib.

(b) Act for refunding, from the forfeited estates, the losses sustained during the Rebel campaign, . . 244

PAGE

Chap. VI. The Rewards given to such Individuals in Lancashire as had Signalised themselves against the Rebellion, 246

(a) The Rev. Samuel Peploe rewarded, . . . ib.

(b) The two Presbyterian pastors rewarded, . . ib.

Biographical Notice relative to the Reverend James Wood, or Woods, as he is variously named, . 249

Chap. VII. The General Indemnity, ... 253

(a) Notice of Mr John Beswicke of Manchester, . . 254

(b) Incidents which befel Brigadier Mackintosh subsequent to the General Act of Indemnity, . . . ib.

PART VII.

THE STATE OF PARTIES IN LANCASHIRE SUBSEQUENT TO THE REBELLION OF 1715.

Chap. I. Preliminary Remarks on the Position of the High Church Tory Party during the course of the Rebellion, . 259

A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London, testifieing their abhorrence of the present Rebellion; with an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his Majesty King George, ... 261

Chap. II. The State of the High Church Party subsequent to the Rebellion of 1715, ... 270

The true British Catholic Church of Dr Deacon, . 273

Chap. III. The English Presbyterians subsequently to the Rebellion of 1715, ... 275

Chap. IV. State of the Roman Catholic Party upon the close of the Rebellion of 1715, ... 276

Chap. V. The Effect produced in Scotland by the Defeat of Jacobitism, ... 277

The result of Brigadier Mackintosh's patriotic exertions, ... 280

PAGE

CHAP. VI. THE EFFECT PRODUCED IN ENGLAND, BUT MORE PARTICULARLY IN LANCASHIRE, BY THE DEFEAT OF JACOBITISM, . . 281

INDEX, ... 283

It is necessary for me to explain, that this Work has been, unfortunately, delayed several months, owing to a long and dangerous illness from which I suffered, while the last sheets were going through the press.

That a portion of this history should give indication of the extreme difficulty under which I laboured to see the work sent forth in a proper state of correctness, may be naturally expected. As far, however, as I have yet been enabled to discover, the historical mistakes, or omissions, which may be detected, are, happily, few in number, and they are less attributable to the cause which I have stated, than to the imperfect and contradictory accounts of the original documents themselves, many of which had been published amidst the confusion of an intense rebellious excitement.

Of the few mistakes which may be mentioned, one occurs in page 41, where Lord Nairn is associated with the rising of the south country Scots. Whether this was actually the case or not, I cannot say, but it is more certain that his Lordship commanded a regiment belonging to the Highland detachment which entered England. (See page 35.)

Again, in page 181, I have stated, on the authority of an ancient document, that *Richard* Dalton of Thurnham was sent prisoner to London. But I find, upon consulting the genealogy of this very ancient house, that the name of Richard does not occur in it; consequently, there can be no doubt that the representative of the family, John Dalton, Esq., was meant, whose trial is described in page 225.

And, lastly, in page 96, I have been guilty of an omission relating to Mr John Cotton of Cambridgeshire, who, along with his father, Robert Cotton, Esq., joined the Insurgents. They were Protestant Non-jurors, whom Patten has eulogised for their hospitality and charitable regard towards their country neighbours. Mr John Cotton was an accomplished gentleman and a scholar. (See p. 186, and Patten's History, p. 149, 150.)

S. H. W.

DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

The Lithograph of Preston under siege, to face page 113.

PART I.

THE EVENTS OF CHURCH AND STATE

WHICH

PRECEDED, AND ACCOMPANIED THE COMMENCEMENT OF

THE REBELLION OF 1715.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. The Scottish Jacobites declare against the Union, and for the ancient Sovereignty of Scotland.

CHAP. II. The Political events of England which preceded the Rebellion of 1715.

CHAP. III. Church excitements of England preceding the Rebellion.

CHAP. IV. The Jacobite Plots which began to be formed.

CHAP. V. The actual breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland.

CHAP. VI. The Jacobite Insurrections of England.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOTTISH JACOBITES DECLARE AGAINST THE UNION, AND FOR THE ANCIENT SOVEREIGNTY OF SCOTLAND.

The Scottish Jacobites did not declare themselves until the year 1703, when it was proposed that the immediate succession to the throne of Scotland should be formally vested in the Princess Sophia, and in the heirs of her body, being Protestants, and that such a measure should be followed up by an entire Union between the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, for their mutual security and advantage. The opposition shewn to this measure was feeble, and, in the year 1706, an act of Union was ratified, by which the united kingdom became represented by one and the same Parliament, while the succession of the monarchy was settled in the House of Hanover. Hopes were then entertained by the Scottish nation, that the Union would secure their strength, riches, and trade; and that it would support the Protestant religion everywhere, and maintain the liberties of Europe.

These hopes were not however unmingled with opposite feelings of disappointment. It was evident that the repugnance which was shewn by the disaffected to the House of Hanover did not arise so much out of opposition to that family, as out of concern for the loss of the ancient sovereignty and independence of Scotland, and of its constitution, the estates of parliament. This sen-

timent soon led to a popular movement, at the head of which was the Duke of Hamilton, who was cheered in many places by mobs who exclaimed " Hamilton, and No Union." It was even openly professed, that there was no other way of saving the nation than by raising the Parliament and declaring for King James the Eighth of Scotland. But Hamilton kept this feeling in restraint, by giving his opinion that matters were not then ripe enough for such an enterprize.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL EVENTS OF ENGLAND WHICH PRECEDED THE REBELLION OF 1715.

This portion of our history may commence at that period of the reign of Queen Anne, when the Tories found themselves in a new position. They had contrived to ingratiate themselves with their Royal Mistress, whose reign was fast drawing to a natural close. Being inspired, therefore, with the immediate hopes, at this eventful crisis, of directing the councils of the nation, yet at no sacrifice of the Tory Principle which they professed to keep inviolate, they were led into the strangest practical inconsistencies, naturally caused, as we might expect, in the endeavour to reconcile the political position of their party with their allegiance towards a Princess, whom Whig principles alone had elevated to the throne of England. These inconsistencies were severely exposed at the time by Walpole. " So irreconcilable," remarked this statesman, " are the professions and practiccs of some men, so awkwardly do they speak well of what they do not in their hearts approve of, that, in vindication of His late Majesty,—for that's a part that sometimes they think useful to act,—they declare his most glorious enterprize to save a sinking nation, utterly illegal. To commend themselves to the Queen, they con-

demn that Revolution, without which she never would have been a Queen, while we should have remained a most unhappy people. To testify their zeal and affection for the Protestant succession, they invalidate all the plans which had been formed for securing that blessing to Posterity; and, lastly, to manifest their aversion, and, for ever, to blast the hopes of the Pretender, they advance and maintain the Hereditary right, as the only true right to the Crown."—[See Sacheverell's Trial.]

At length, in the year 1711, the councils of the nation, which for more than twenty years had been guided by a Whig ministry, were supplanted by Tory measures. Under the ministry of the Earl of Oxford as Lord Treasurer, the plans seem to have been directed to the disengagement of the Queen from her continental allies, who had made common cause against arbitrary dominion and Popery, and to giving countenance and favour to the enemies of the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The means by which they are said to have succeeded in this special purpose, have by their political opponents been enumerated as follows: 1st, by slights offered to the Duke of Marlborough, and by the depreciation of his military services, as preparatory to the supplanting him by the appointment of the Duke of Ormond in his room; 2dly, by acts of friendly deference towards the common enemy of the Protestant allies, Louis the Fourteenth; 3dly, by authorizing the Duke of Ormond to consent to a suspension of arms, and to the withdrawing his troops from the siege of Quesney; 4thly, by concluding a separate treaty with France, and signing a general suspension of arms; and, 5thly, by the alleged ignominious terms of the treaty of Utrecht, by which, it was affirmed, the commerce of the Kingdom had been sacrificed.

Soon afterwards the Queen died; upon which occasion the Ministry found, that although the cause of Toryism had through their auspices been promoted, it was still far too weak to attempt any serious measures against the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover. No alternative therefore remained, but to comply with the more prevalent party of the nation, which evidently inclined to Whig principles.

With the accession of King George in 1714 there was a great clamour in the kingdom against the Tory Ministers of the reign of Queen Anne. In Lancashire, the town of Liverpool took the lead in the Whig interest, and, upon this occasion, forwarded an address to the King, hoping, that upon those, who, by their advice, or actions, had endeavoured to defeat the succession of the House of Hanover, and, instead thereof, to introduce a foreign and Popish Pretender, who had given up their trade, betrayed their arms abroad, and their councils at home,—exemplary justice might be done, as the means to render His reign quiet, and make His crown sit easy.—[Oldmixon's History of England.]

Various other petitions to the same effect having been sent from different parts of the realm, notwithstanding the Tory ministers had signed a declaration in favour of the Hanoverian succession, the Duke of Ormond and the Lord Treasurer found themselves neglected, while Marlborough was well received. This was followed by a dismissal of the Tory ministry, some of whom were impeached on the general charge of having compromised, in the treaty of Utrecht, the glory and best interests of the country. At these prosecutions the Tory party of the kingdom, which, in some localities, was strong, particularly in the thriving town of Manchester, became inflamed to the last degree. The Duke of Ormond, who, in seeking a foreign refuge from Whig indignation, had been degraded in his name and titles, became the great idol of Tory and High Church idolatry. Nor was the Earl of Oxford regarded as a less martyr.

Such were the general political events which preceded the Rebellion of 1715. In their application to County History, it will be useful to keep in view, that while Liverpool was the stronghold of the Lancashire Whigs, Manchester became the head-quarters of the Lancashire Tories.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH EXCITEMENTS OF ENGLAND PRECEDING THE INSURRECTION OF 1715.

"The fomenters of the late Rebellion, being prepared with the noisy notion of the Church's being in danger, easily complied with the party."—"Did not all these concurrences spirit up the populace to be guilty of so many egregious miscarriages, as they have been of late towards His Sacred Majesty King George? So, by degrees, they abandoned all reverence, respect, nay, obedience, due to him, and listed in open defiance of, and rebellion to, his laws, and against His person and family."—[Preface to PATTEN'S History of the Rebellion of 1715.]

Under this general head may be described, first, The general alarm of danger to the Church;—secondly, The danger most to be apprehended from Presbyterian designs;—thirdly, Sacheverell's classification of the "False Brethren" who would betray the Church into the hands of Her enemies;—fourthly, The state prosecution of Sacheverell;—fifthly, The national excitement which followed Sacheverell's impeachment;—sixthly, The Schism Bill contemplated by High Church;—seventhly, The renewal of the Sacheverell excitement caused by the declaration of King George in favour of toleration to Protestant Dissenters;—eighthly, The organization of Sacheverell mobs in Lancashire to root out schism by the destruction of Presbyterian Meeting-Houses;—and, ninthly, The measures taken by government to suppress these riots, which were growing into rebellion.

(a) THE GENERAL ALARM OF DANGER TO THE CHURCH.

The alarm of the Church being in danger was first raised about the year 1704, when the High Church Tories, in affirming that the People of England owed obedience to no other constitution than that of the Church, increased the National sensation. In vain did the Queen recommend to Her Parliament an union of minds and affections among themselves.

In denouncing the maliciousness of declaring the Church to be in danger, she expressed Her determination to support the Church of England as by law established, and to inviolably maintain the act of Toleration. It was also voted (December 17th, 1705) that the Church was in a most safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever insinuated that it was in danger under Her Majesty's administration, was an enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom.

It is not easy to enumerate all the causes which were said to have endangered the Church, as variations in the list of them subsisted at different periods of time, from the reign of William and Mary down to that of George the First. Perhaps the whole of these dangers in the reign of Queen Anne might be included in the following catalogue:—

First, "a profane press" [in the Whig interest], which countenanced "resistance to the Higher powers;" secondly, the want of a heir to the throne versed in the institutes of the Church; thirdly, the attempt to comprehend Dissenters within the pale of the Church; and, fourthly, the want of an act against occasional conformity. Now it will be evident, that these four alleged causes involved the leading sources of contention between High and Low Church.

But to these four causes of danger to the Church were added some few imaginary ones; as, Fifthly, the act passed confirming the worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland; Sixthly, "the armed state of the people of Scotland, who never wanted the will to destroy the Church;" [this was cer-

tainly a phantom;]—and, Seventhly, as was shewn in the question of a Naturalization Bill, the Church was supposed to be in danger from Foreigners, who having been the professed enemies of the established Church, might flock over, with desire to effect its overthrow.

(b) THE GREATEST DANGER APPREHENDED FROM PRESBYTERIAN DESIGNS.

Of all these alleged causes, however, some of which were evidently chimerical, and could only have been induced during an excitable state of the public mind, those which related to the comprehension of dissenters within the pale of the English Church, and to their admission to civil privileges, were made the most prominent. It was remarked, for instance, by a member of the House of Commons, that the "sacramental test was appointed by the wisdom of the legislature to preserve the Established Church, not from Protestants, but from Papists; which Church seemed in as much danger from the dissenters at this time, as it was from the Papists when the acts against them were framed."

In explaining, therefore, this ground of High Church apprehension, it will be necessary to recapitulate, in as brief a summary as possible, what has been stated in my introductory essay relative to the proposed comprehension of English dissenters within the pale of the English Church, and the charges which had been made against them for their occasional conformity.—[See The State of Parties, &c., published for the Chetham Society, page 37 *et seq.*]

Immediately after the Revolution, it was proposed, by means of an Ecclesiastical convocation, to establish such a firm union of His Majesty's subjects in matters of religion, as would lead to a comprehension of the Non-conformists within the pale of the Protestant establishment; and it was conceived, that the Church of England had not arrived at such a state of perfection, but that concessions to the religious scruples of the dissenters might be made, whence would result an advantage to the liturgy

and ceremonies of the Church of England, and a great increase of numbers within the pale of Her communion.—But the country was little prepared for so extensive a change, and by High Church the proposition was denounced as replete with the greatest danger to the Church.

Another supposed danger from Non-conformists arose from the strictness with which High Church regarded the tenets of the Church of England as forming the religion of the state, the civil offices of which state could not be held except by such as were within the pale of Her ecclesiastical communion.

It has been also explained in my introductory treatise, that William had very early recommended, that the vacancies in office, occasioned by the Revolution, should be open to all Protestants who were willing and able to serve; whence was passed the Toleration act, by which Protestant dissenters were rendered, on certain conditions, eligible to such offices; while, at the same time, the Bill was fortified by such clauses as were calculated to prevent any Papists from availing themselves of the Toleration thus granted.

The Toleration act, however, in its progress, had to undergo a most severe opposition from the scruples of High Church, who, on conscientious views, considered, that the Church and State were in the laws which they respectively enforced so intimately connected, as to render those who were opposed to the institutes of the Church, equally hostile to the interests of the State; whence they would become disqualified, both in a religious and civil point of view, from filling offices of trust. In urging, therefore, a perfect and absolute communion with the Church of England, as necessary to the acceptance of public offices of trust or magistracy, all the concession which the Whigs were inclined to make, was a clause liable to evasion, which merely insisted on the sacrament being taken according to the form of the Church of England, as preparatory to any eligibility to an office of trust;—the dissenter having been thus left free, after the ceremony was over, of continuing, as before, to frequent any meeting-house of which he might have been a member.

It does not appear, however, that even the Whigs were unanimous in the satisfaction which they expressed of occasional conformity. By many it was regarded as a subterfuge, not to be morally justified by any circumstances of civil hardship whatever.

Such was the practice of what was called "occasional conformity," against which all the moral, and even physical force which High Church could command, was strenuously directed. It was against Occasional Conformity that in two sermons published by Dr Sacheverell, a great portion of his fulmination was directed, which eventually led to riot and rebellion.

(c) SACHEVERELL'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE "FALSE BRETHREN" WHO WOULD BETRAY THE CHURCH INTO THE HANDS OF HER ENEMIES.

As, unfortunately, the Sacheverell agitation contributed greatly to promote the insurrection of 1715, it will be necessary to illustrate the inflammatory language used on this occasion by the Popular organ of the High Church Tories.

The term LOW CHURCH had been in use for many years when its employment, as a term of obloquy, was found rather inconvenient to the Tories at the time when they began to find favour with Queen Anne, whose professions in favour of indulgence to tender consciences had betrayed Her predilection more to Low, than to High Church Principles. It was then that Sacheverell, the popular organ of the High Church, condemned those who had "villainously" divided the people into High and Low Church, adding his wish, that they might be one fold under one Shepherd. But, with the strangest inconsistency in the world, he was very far from mending the matter by proposing, as a substitute for the term "Low Church," the name of "FALSE BRETHREN." It was by "False Brethren," as he remarked of the Church of England, that Her holy communion had been rent, and divided by factious and schismatical impostors; her pure doctrine corrupted and defiled; her primitive worship and discipline profaned and abused; her sacred altars denied and vilified; Her priests

and professors, like St Paul, calumniated, misrepresented, and ridiculed, and her altars and sacraments prostituted to Hypocrites, Deists, Socinians, and Atheists.

If, then, we consider the term "False Brethren" as meaning nothing more than "Low Church," which, by an analysis of Sacheverell's discourse, may be shewn to be the case, we shall soon see under what order they were submitted to a classification:

1st, They are False Brethren in relation to the state, government, or society of which they are members, who explode and ridicule out of countenance the doctrine of an absolute and unconditional obedience to the Supreme Power [that is, of James the Third, the rightful sovereign of the Tory Jacobites], as an unfashionable, superannuated, nay even as a dangerous tenet, inconsistent with the right, liberty, and property of the People, &c. &c.

2d, He is a false Brother with relation to God, Religion, and the Church in which he holds communion, that believes, maintains, or propagates any false or heterodox tenet or doctrine repugnant to the express declarations of Scripture, and the decrees or sense of the Church, and antiquity thereof. Accordingly, in enlarging upon the universal authority of the Church of England, and, in pronouncing the Liturgy, as it then subsisted, the model of an universal coalition, it was farther explained, that in the express declarations of Scripture and in the decrees or sense of the Church, and antiquity thereof, were contained the essential points and articles of our most Holy faith, agreeably to the primitive expositions, decisions and practice of the ancient writers of the pure and uncorrupted ages of Christianity, which were certainly to be acknowledged the best and most authentic comments upon their meaning.

3d, In deprecating any alterations in the institutions or liturgy of the Church, by a third class of "False Brethren," with the view of comprehending Dissenters within Her communion, it was added, "Whosoever presumes to recede the least tittle from the express word of God, or to explain the great credenda of our Faith in new-fangled terms of modern Philosophy, must publish a new Gospel, ungod his Saviour, and destroy the Revelation."

And in denouncing the attempt of Comprehension, it was styled "a latitudinarian, heterogeneous mixture of all persons of what different faith soever, uniting only in Protestancy, which would let into the bowels of the Church those who would neither believe her faith, own her mission, submit to her discipline, or comply with her liturgy."

And, 4th, In condemning those schismatical and factious persons who take permission for power, and advance toleration immediately into an establishment, occasion was taken to inveigh not only against Comprehension, but against occasional conformity. "Since these false Brethren had not been enabled to carry the conventicle into the Church, they are now resolved to bring the Church into the Conventicle. What could not be gained by Comprehension and Toleration, must now be brought about by moderation and occasional conformity. What must be the consequence between this scandalous fluctuation and turning betwixt the Church and the Dissenters?"—And again: "Since the Sectarists have found out a way (which their forefathers, God knows, as wicked as they were, would have abhorred) to swallow not only oaths but sacraments to qualify themselves to get into places and preferments, these sanctified hypocrites can put on a show of loyalty, and seem tolerably easy in the government if they can engross the honours and profits of it."

The preacher's last denunciation was against such as had actually, by occasional conformity, possessed themselves of many offices of Magistracy and State;—of such as had so far eluded the Corporation and Test Acts by their abominable hypocrisy, as to have undermined the foundations, and endangered its government, by filling it (as far as they could) with its professed enemies, that is, with themselves."—"These false brethren," he added, "would renounce their creed, and read the Decalogue backward, be the very reverse of our Blessed Saviour (whom like their primitive Father they first sell and then betray), and would fall down and worship the very Devil himself for the riches and honour of this world."

Such was the classification made by Dr Sacheverell of "False

Brethren ;" and with declaring against the habitual hypocrisy of " a False Brother," we were assured by the Preacher, in the following terms, that " it left him incapable of repentance, and both damned him here and hereafter ; and, as he chose it in this world, that it appointed him in the next his portion with hypocrites and unbelievers, with all liars, that had their part in the lake which burns with fire and brimstone, and with the grand father of falsehood, the Devil, and his angels !"—" and so here," concluded the Reverend Doctor, " we leave our false Brethren,—in the company they always have kept correspondence with."

This harangue, which had been delivered before the Lord Mayor of London, and of which more than forty thousand copies in a published state had been soon sold, was received by the High Church populace as from one who had been an ambassador from Christ. Nor was such a supposition discountenanced by the language of the declaimer himself. After having exhorted the superior Pastors of the Church to thunder out their anathemas against Protestant dissenters, his fiat went forth, " I defy any earthly power to reverse such sentences !"

It thus appears, that the extreme sentiments professed by the High Church Tories against the Presbyterians had at length found a dangerous organ in Dr Sacheverell, by whom they were effectively popularized. The toleration by act of Parliament was not only exposed as wicked, but the administration, also, was represented as destructive of the Church of England ; while the Governors of the Church, and Her Majesty, as Supreme, were exposed and vilified.

(d) THE STATE PROSECUTION OF DR SACHEVERELL.

It is doubtful if the vulgar discourse and language of this Orator, so unbecoming the sacred cause which he arrogated, were, in reality, worthy the serious notice of Government. But the Commons, in ordering a prosecution, seem to have had a higher motive in view than the mere punishment (to use the

language which Walpole borrowed from Sacheverell himself), "of every seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher."—"The Commons," said Mr Dolbin, in his address to the Lords, "have brought this offender before you, with a view not only to detect and punish his offence, but to obtain an occasion, in the most public and authentic manner, to avow the principles, and justify the means upon which the present government and the Protestant succession are founded and established; and this more out of a glorious concern for Posterity, than for our own present security."

Dr Sacheverell was accordingly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours, in maintaining, 1st, That the necessary means used to bring about the happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; 2dly, That the toleration granted by law to Protestant dissenters was unreasonable, and the allowance of it unwarrantable; 3dly, That the Church of England was in a condition of great peril and adversity under Her Majesty's administration; and, 4th, That Her Majesty's administration, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, tended to the destruction of the Constitution.

(e) THE NATIONAL EXCITEMENT WHICH FOLLOWED SACHEVERELL'S IMPEACHMENT.

While the prosecution was pending, the whole country was convulsed with ferment. But Government inflicted no farther punishment upon the Demagogue, than silencing him from entering the pulpit for three years, and sentencing his two inflammatory sermons to be burnt by the common hangman. Yet this leniency was regarded by the Tories as a great gain to their cause. In a triumphant tour which Sacheverell made in the counties, he was received by his party with the loudest acclamation. Addresses in the places which he visited were presented against revolutionary principles, against toleration to dissenters, and declaratory of Jacobitism, namely, of hereditary, unalienable right.

Sacheverell's term of punishment having expired, his appearance in a pulpit at Birmingham was followed by a riotous exulting mob calling out "Sacheverell for ever, and down with the Whigs!" Similar disaffections took place in many other towns, as at Bristol and Norwich. The Protestant dissenters became, of course, particularly obnoxious to Sacheverell mobs, and, as a consequence, several meeting-houses throughout the kingdom were destroyed.

(f) A SCHISM BILL CONTEMPLATED BY THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES.

A remark of Sacheverell did not pass unheeded by High Church. "Schism and Faction are things of impudent and encroaching natures; they thrive upon concessions, take permission for power, and advance toleration immediately into an establishment."

After the High Church Tories had found that they were in possession of a great share of the popular feeling, they were emboldened to take still more decisive measures, with the view of suppressing dissent in its growth and nurture. A schism bill passed the House of Commons, which ordered, that if any person should keep any public or private school, or instruct any youth as Tutor, he should have a licence of the respective Archbishop or Bishop of the place. It also enacted, that if any schoolmaster or Tutor should be willingly present at any conventicle of dissenters for religious worship, he should suffer three months' imprisonment, and should be disqualified from teaching any school for the future.

But as Queen Anne died upon the very day that this act was to have taken place, namely, on the 1st of August 1714, it was by the ensuing government suppressed at its birth.

(g) THE RENEWAL OF THE SACHEVERELL EXCITEMENT CAUSED BY THE DECLARATION OF KING GEORGE IN FAVOUR OF TOLERATION.

The danger of the Church from Protestant dissenters, who had sought by alterations in Her liturgy, and by a bill of comprehension, to enter within the pale of Her communion, had continued to gain ground among both the well and ill-informed of High Church Tories, as well as among the more exalted and influential ranks of this powerful party. "Oh! give not," said Mr Paulet St John, in a sermon preached before Queen Anne, "thy heritage again to such reproach, but preserve thy Church from the madness of their zeal who would ruin it by reforming it."—[Oldmixon's History of England, A.D. 1712.]

The illiterate classes became no less impressed with a similar sentiment, which was due to the activity with which the sermon of their oracle, Dr Sacheverell, had been circulated among them far and wide.

That the sermon was addressed, not to the reason, but to the passions of the multitude, is self-evident. "A man must be very ignorant," said this declaimer, "who thinks that the Dissenters are to be gained by any other grants and indulgences than giving up the whole Constitution; and he that recedes the least tittle from it to satisfy and ingratiate with these clamorous, insatiable, church-devouring malignants, knows not what spirit they are of." —"Our church, as it stands, guarded with its own sacred fences, with her only true sons in her bosom, may defy all the malice of the Devil and Her enemies to prevail against Her. But such is her hard fortune, her worst adversaries must be let into her bowels, under the holy umbrage of sons, who neither believe her Faith, own her mission, submit to her discipline, or comply with her liturgy. And to admit this religious Trojan horse, big with arms and ruin into our Holy City, the strait gate must be laid quite open, Her walls and enclosures pulled down, and a high road made in upon her communion, and this pure spouse of

Christ prostituted to more adulterers than the Scarlet Whore in the Revelations."

At length King George, by the death of Queen Anne, and to the disappointment of the Tories, was called to the Throne; and when the Sovereign expressed his determination to preserve the Toleration act inviolate, indignation knew no bounds.

(h) THE ORGANIZATION OF SACHEVERELL MOBS IN LANCASHIRE, AND OTHER LOCALITIES, TO ROOT OUT SCHISM.

In Lancashire, but more particularly among the High Church Tories who dwelt in and about Manchester, the excitement caused by King George's declaration in favour of Toleration was particularly stirring. A regular Sacheverell mob, encouraged even by Jacobite Magistrates, or Justices of the Peace, was organised under the command of "a Mob Colonel," as the leader was styled (whose name does not transpire), and under "a Mob-Captain," the well-known Siddall of Jacobite celebrity, who was a Manchester blacksmith.

The operations of this well organised mob in Manchester, as well as other places, appear in a work by Peter Rae of Dumfries, entitled, "History of the late Rebellion raised against His Majesty King George by the friends of the Popish Pretender," 4to, printed at "Drumfries, 1718."

From the evidence brought forward in this very scarce publication [page 151, &c.], which I shall now quote, it will be quite clear, that the object of the High Church Tories was, by the aid of "physical force," and the demolition of Presbyterian meeting-houses, to extirpate schism, root and branch. "Upon Friday the Tenth of June [the Pretender's Birth-day] the mobs assembled at Philip-Norton, in the county of Somerset, where they rung the Bells and drunk the Pretender's Health, by the name of King James the Third. They did the like at Volverton; and threatened to go to Berkington near Froome in the same county, and pull down the Presbyterian Meeting House there, but were dis-

suaded by some of their friends who told them they would meet with a warm reception if they attempted it. [A letter from Beckington, June 13th 1715.] They rung also the same day at Marlburrough, Warrington, and Leeds, when their ordinary cry was, 'No King George but a Stuart.'

"But the most considerable mob was, that day, at Manchester. They had assembled on Thursday, increased their rebellions on Friday, and continued with beat of drum till Saturday's night: During which time, they committed many ravages on the houses of those who were well affected to His Majesty's person and government, and pulled down the Presbyterian meeting-house, all but the walls.

"The week after they marched towards Yorkshire, demolishing all the meeting-houses they found in their way. These Lancashire mobs having thus continued in their rebellion till the end of that month, destroying all the meeting-houses in that country, orders were issued for raising the Militia, and Major Wyvil, with two troops of Lord Cobham's regiment, being sent down to join a party of the Earl of Stair's (June 23d), some of the Manchester Rebels were taken and the rest dispersed." (Letter from Manchester, June 30. 1715.)

"Towards the end of June, a letter from the Duke of Berwick to a person of distinction in England, was intercepted; wherein he advises him to keep up the spirit of the people, and to encourage the riots and tumults; and puts him in hopes of having speedy assistance. But though the letter was intercepted, the thing desired was done but too effectually. For, finding encouragement from Jacobite Magistrates, Justices of Peace and others, who by virtue of their offices ought to have suppressed them, they continued in their rebellious courses to the end of summer, committing great outrages in Newcastle-under-line, and many other places of England. In a few weeks'-time they pulled down the Presbyterian meeting houses at Blakely (June 20), Green-Acres, Monton (June 21), Shrewsbury (July 5th), Volverhampton, Bermage, Briminghame, Wrexham, Stafford, Burton, Dudly, Credly, Sturbridge, Wasel, Olbury (in Warwickshire),

Kingswood (in Shropshire), and many other meeting-houses in that country, to the unspeakable loss of the Protestant Dissenters there.

"But before I come to the close of this Tragical Scene, I shall advance but one instance more of their implacable malice at the Presbyterian Dissenters in England; which is, that on the 22d of July, at night, the Tories in Shrewsbury, pasted up, in many parts of the town, the form of a Proclamation, which I transcribed from the prints, as follows: 'We gentlemen of the Loyal Mob of Shrewsbury do issue out this proclamation to all Dissenters from the Church of England, of what kind or denomination soever, whether Independents, Papists or Quakers: If you, or any of you, do encourage or suffer any of that damnable faction called Presbyterians to assemble themselves amongst you, in any of your conventicles, at the time of divine worship, you may expect to meet with the same that they have been treated with. Given under our hands and seals on the 11th day of July 1715. GOD SAVE THE KING.' [*i. e.* the Pretender, whom they there call their King.]"

(i) THE MEASURES TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT TO SUPPRESS THESE MOBS, WHICH WERE GROWING INTO REBELLION.

The narrative adds, that on the 16th of July the Commons of Great Britain having been informed of several evil disposed persons going from place to place in a tumultuous and riotous manner, fomenting these disturbances, petitioned the King, that the laws might be rigorously put into execution against such offenders; that Justices might be punished for a neglect of their duty; that an exact account might be rendered of the losses and damages thus sustained, in order that the sufferers might meet with full compensation; that all such expenses as His Majesty should incur on that account, might be made good out of the next aids to be granted by Parliament;—and that the laws

against Papists and Non-jurors might be effectually put into execution. To the prayer of this petition, His Majesty is said to have graciously consented.

And, on July 20th, a proclamation was issued, that if any riotous or tumultuous persons should at any time, after the last day of July 1715, demolish or pull down any building set aside for religious worship, and certified and registered according to the statute of the 1st of William and Mary, or any dwelling-house, barn, &c., the crime should be adjudged Felony without benefit of Clergy, and the offenders should suffer death. And that the inhabitants of such city, town, county, or hundred where the damage was done, should be made to yield damages for it.

This act proved to be of some restraint; at the end of July 1715 the rioting was entirely suppressed.

The COLONEL of the mob of Manchester, together with Siddal the Blacksmith, CAPTAIN of the same, were tried at the ensuing August Assizes of Lancaster, and sentenced to Imprisonment, and the Pillory: "I was at Lancaster," said a journalist of the Rebellion, "and saw them stand in the Pillory there, which was on a Saturday, being the market-day there, about a week after the said assizes. But no person was allowed to fling any thing at them."—[Journal of Peter Clarke, forming the third part of this work.]

Subsequently a sum of L.1500 was granted by Government for rebuilding the Presbyterian Chapel in Cross Street, Manchester, which had been pulled down by this well-organised mob.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JACOBITE PLOTS WHICH BEGAN TO BE FORMED.

These plots will be very briefly noticed as they appeared in Scotland and in England.

(a) THE JACOBITE PLOTS OF SCOTLAND.

During the close of the reign of Queen Anne, the opposition to the Protestant succession vested in the House of Hanover, gained ground.

Several Scottish Lords, who subsequently appeared in open rebellion, were accused of corresponding with the Chevalier de Saint George, to whom they assigned the title of James the Eighth of Scotland. To their foreign supporter, Louis the Fourteenth, a request for aid was transmitted, in consideration of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland.

But it was not until after the death of Anne, when a Hanoverian Prince was called to the throne, that there existed a formidable party in Scotland, who only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare for the ancient Sovereignty of Scotland, in opposition to the Act of Union.

Like wary Scotsmen, however, they did not take this step with precipitation :—they did but " bide their time."

(b) THE JACOBITE PLOTS OF ENGLAND.

During the spring, summer, and autumn of 1715, a very extensive plot was formed in England, to advance the pretensions of James the Third of England, and the Eighth of Scotland.

London was the head-quarters of the conspirators, from which metropolitan and central site a correspondence was conducted with the Jacobites who dwelt in different parts of the kingdom.

The prosecution of the Jacobite cause in Northumberland was entrusted to certain Irish gentlemen and Roman Catholics, namely, Colonel Oxburgh, who had long served in the army of James the Second, Captain Nicholas Wogan, Mr Charles Wogan, and Mr James Talbot. Other active agents were two Nottinghamshire gentlemen, Mr Clifton, brother of Sir Gervase Clifton, and Mr Beaumont, while a last was Mr Buxton, a Clergyman of Derbyshire. These gentlemen, under the pretence of being Tourists, anxious to examine objects of Nature and Art, dispersed themselves in every direction. For the alleged protection of their equipments as scientific Travellers, yet with the view of preventing surprise from their political opponents, they armed themselves with swords and pistols. In thus riding from place to place, they contrived to visit the various seats of their Jacobite partizans, in order to stimulate them to a general and simultaneous rising.

The result was, that by the aid of deputies from the Northumberland gentlemen sent to London, a plot for appearing openly in arms became fully matured.

Nor was Lancashire less secretly employed in advancing the object of insurrection.

(c) THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT REBELLION WAS ABOUT TO ENSUE.

At length King George announced from his throne, (July 20th 1715) that the threats of the Pretender were about to be put into execution. He declared that the established constitution in

Church and State should be the rule of his conduct, and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief aim of his life. Loyal addresses followed quite as inflammatory as the harangues and declarations of the opposite party, and indicating that matters were fast approaching to a crisis. In an address to the King from the Mayor and Lieutenancy of London, James the Third was denounced "as an Impostor, who proposed to govern the kingdom by Popish maxims and arbitrary principles;" and, in the same address, the Tories were designated by the terms of "Non-resisting rebels, Passive-obedience rioters, abjuring Jacobites, and Frenchified Englishmen;—monsters whom no age or country ever produced till now."—[Oldmixon's History of England]

CHAPTER V.

THE BREAKING OUT OF THE REBELLION IN SCOTLAND.

The insurrection first began in Scotland.—When England was torn with the conflicts of High and Low Church, and with discussions on the policy of the treaty of Utrecht,—and when a powerful Tory faction became opposed to the accession of George the First, it was then that the cause of Jacobitism, from being privately favoured, became publicly advocated. This popular sentiment, as expressed in England, was not lost upon the Earl of Mar, formerly Secretary of State to Queen Anne, during the ascendancy of the Tory Ministry. On the second of August 1715, he left London and repaired to his seat at Braemar in the Highlands. Under the pretence of a general Deer-hunting, he called together various Chieftains of the Clans, to whom he explained his views. These were to again make the Scots a free people, enjoying their ancient liberties wrested from them by the English,

in virtue of a cursed Union, the power of which to enslave them farther, had been heightened by the measures resorted to by the Prince of Hanover, who had authorised such alterations in Church and State as suited the views of his Whig ministry. He then explained, that thousands were in league and covenant with each other to rise and depose the Hanoverian Prince, and to establish the Chevalier Saint George; that the Duke of Ormond and the Lord Bolingbroke were gone over to France to engage the Regent of that kingdom to be aiding and assisting with men and money; that they could not fail with a good force to make their landing good; and that the Duke of Berwick would come over to take the command of their supporters and allies in the West of England.

The Earl of Mar, upon this declaration having been made, found himself supported by the Marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls of Nithsdale, Linlithgow, Traquhar, Seaforth, Mareschal, and Carnwath; the Viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stourmont; the Lords Strathallan and Rollo, and by various other noblemen, and heads of powerful Clans.

The Government was soon apprised of the formidable movement, and immediately resorted to active measures for its suppression. On the 18th of August three regiments which had been sent to Ireland were ordered to return; the militia of Scotland was ordered to be raised; and, on the 24th, General Whetham, then Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, sent Major-General Wightman, with all disposable regular troops, to form a camp in the parish of Stirling, and to secure the Castle and the Bridge on the Forth, which was the chief pass of the Highlanders at that time of the year.

All these preparations were accomplished before the 2d of September, and soon afterwards a design was formed to surprise the Castle of Edinburgh, which was unsuccessful. Twelve days afterwards the Duke of Argyll arrived at Edinburgh, in company with the Duke of Roxburgh and other supporters of Government, to assume the command of the forces in North Britain.

The Duke of Argyll's first object was to repair to General

Whetham's camp at Stirling, where he found the forces very thin in number;—for after they had been joined by Carpenter's and Kerr's dragoons, they did not make up two thousand effective men. Fresh reinforcements were accordingly ordered from Ireland and the North of England.

In the mean time the Earl of Mar set up a standard at Kirkmichael for the Chevalier Saint George, under the name and title of James the Eighth, King of Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JACOBITE INSURRECTIONS OF ENGLAND.

It was when the Earl of Mar set up the standard of revolt in Scotland, that the Jacobites in England began to bestir themselves. At this crisis, the Government took active measures to suppress the plots then forming, in which they were encouraged by numerous voluntary armed associations entered into at London and in other parts of the kingdom.

(a) DISAFFECTIONS IN VARIOUS LARGE TOWNS OF ENGLAND.

Early in the September of 1715, Colonel Paul of the Foot Guards was charged with enlisting men in the Pretender's service, and in the course of this month and in October following the titular Duke of Powis, Lord Lansdown, and two other Noblemen were taken into custody. It was announced to the Commons that many members of that House had treasonable designs against the Government. Orders were given to arrest Sir William Windham, who had belonged to the Tory Ministry of the former reign.

A design to seize Bristol was attributed to persons "spirited by false zeal for the Church, and an inveterate hatred to Protestant Dissenters." Bath and Plymouth were severally accused of shewing rebellious manifestations, while Major General Pepper was sent to quell the disaffection arising from the High Church Tories of Oxford, where the Pretender had been actually proclaimed.

(b) THE RISING IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Northumberland High Church Tories and Roman Catholics had, in the spring of 1715, entered into a plot to restore to the throne James the Third of England. In the autumn following, tidings arrived that they were actually arming, with the view of supporting the outbreak in Scotland.

Among the various individuals of eminence who had entered into the conspiracy, the Earl of Derwentwater took the lead. His estate was immense, and, as he gave employment to several hundred men among the mines at Alstone Moor, it was expected that he would bring an immense number of men into the field. His generous and charitable disposition had also rendered him extremely popular among his tenants and dependants. His Lordship was a Roman Catholic, and allied by consanguinity to the Chevalier St George, his mother having been a natural daughter of Charles the Second.

Lord Widdrington, another Roman Catholic nobleman, was of a very ancient family in Northumberland. He was of a careless temper, greatly attached to all country diversions, and cherished for his hospitable character.

The name of Mr Forster of Etherston added greatly to the promotion of the cause, as he was member of parliament for Northumberland. As it was deemed impolitic, on religious grounds, to wound the prejudices of Protestants by assigning the leadership of the Northumbrian movement to either of the two Roman

Catholic noblemen described, this honour was assigned to Mr Forster, who was a High Church Tory.

It would be tedious to recount the names of the other influential Gentry of Northumberland concerned in the Insurrection, which appear in the journal of the Reverend Robert Patten, chaplain to Mr Forster, and himself a Northumbrian. The names of Shaftoe, Swinbourn, Errington, Charleton, Riddle, Hudson, and Clavering, shew that some of the ancient families in the county had entered into the conspiracy. Another leading personage was Justice Hall of Otterbourn, but his value in the cause was doubtful. He was of so quarrelsome a temper as to have acquired the name of " Mad Jack Hall of Otterbourn."—[See Patten's History of the Rebellion of 1715, 2d Ed. p. 138, et seq.]

(c) THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES OF MANCHESTER THREATEN TO JOIN THE INSURGENTS OF SCOTLAND.

About this time the High Church Tories of Manchester had caused the greatest interest throughout the kingdom, from having organized a powerful Sacheverell mob, intent only upon extirpating Schism throughout the land. With this class of Jacobites the old Roman Catholic families of the Northern parts of Lancashire, where they most abounded, were inclined to coalesce in a common cause. We accordingly find, that when the Rebellion actually broke out in Scotland, attempts were made to form the same coalition of High Church Tories and Roman Catholics, which had taken place in bygone years.

In Lancashire, the chief seat of High Church Toryism was Manchester, for which more than one reason may be assigned, as I have shewn in my History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester.

At the close of the 17th, and commencement of the 18th century, necessity had obliged the numerous landed proprietors of the kingdom, who had been much reduced during the long contest of King and Parliament, to attach the Cadets of their families to

commercial pursuits, furnishing them at the same time with small capitals by way of ventures. For many years, London was the common centre to which the majority of younger sons or brothers from all parts of the kingdom were wont to repair, in order to improve their fortunes ;—other towns possessing subordinate inducements. But in Manchester circumstances were altered ; some looms had been introduced from Holland into the town, and were rapidly contributing to the wealth of its manufacturing inhabitants. From this time, therefore, crowds of Cadets, who were connected with the Lancashire or Cheshire gentry, most of whose ancestors had fought for the Royal cause in the civil wars, commenced their career under the character of apprentices. In bringing with them therefore to Manchester all the prejudices of their ancestors, they were naturally Jacobites.

Lord Widdrington, a Northumbrian nobleman already described, had entered deeply into Jacobite plots, and, as he was related by the marriage of his aunt to the ancient family of the Townleys of Lancashire, he sought, through the exertions of his kinsmen, aided by other connections in this county, to induce the High Church Tories to take arms for the Chevalier St George, as the Pretender was then named. Accordingly, upon advice that the Scottish insurrection had actually taken place, his Lordship, along with other Catholics, repaired to Manchester, in order to induce the High Church Tories, who had so signalised themselves in Sacheverell riots, to enlist in the Jacobite cause.

The reception of Lord Widdrington and his friends among the High Church Tories of Manchester was enthusiastic. They were assured, that immediately upon the Scottish force making its appearance in Lancashire, there would be " a general insurrection of at least twenty thousand men !"

These were at least " fine promises ;"—but as for the fulfilment of them, a moral cause of rather an old date interfered, which, in its consequences, shewed, that it was of too serious a character to be slightly passed over.

In another work I have explained, that amidst the national exultation which took place upon the restoration of Charles the Second, a complete relaxation of manners had followed. The formal demeanour which had been acquired during the gloomy and austere reign of Puritanism, was suddenly dismissed, and a dissipation had ensued which rivalled that of which the Cavaliers had been accused. The ministers of Manchester, in their anxiety for the spiritual welfare of their flock, complained that Englishmen could not meet upon the ordinary affairs of life, but that a preliminary requisition was enforced,—to drink a full cup to the Health of the King. Temperance was accordingly recommended from the Pulpit, as is shewn in the excellent exhortation of the Reverend Mr Newcome, delivered in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, upon the text in Esther, " And the drinking was according to the Law; none did compel."—[Hibbert's Collegiate Church of Manchester, vol. i. p. 332 and 336.]

It is quite certain, that Party feeling had at a later period no little share in inducing this habit of drinking and frequenting taverns. Amidst the long protracted disputes between High and Low Church, the High Church Tories were anxious to maintain as broad a distinction as possible in their moral habits, from those of the despised Presbyterians, many of whom still religiously kept up all the plain, austere, and temperate habits of their puritanic progenitors, holding in equal abhorrence the theatre, the race-course, and the tavern. And when, from the time of the Revolution down to that of 1715, (and even to 1745 and much later,) it was found necessary that Jacobites should often contrive to meet, in order to form secret plans for restoring the House of Stuart, High Church Tories consumed a great portion of their time in taverns. In short, every High Church Tory of Manchester, as well as of other places, had his stated tavern, no less than his dwelling-house, between which he divided his hours. This is evident from a passage in a sermon preached during the year 1683 (upon a day of thanksgiving appointed for national deliverance from state conspiracies), by a

Mr Foreness, who, from having been educated at the Grammar School of Manchester, must have been quite familiar with the habits of this town. " There are those," said the preacher (while advocating an extreme Tory doctrine), "who would fain persuade the world that there are none but a few of the younger and meaner sort of clergy, such as frequent public houses and want the complements of their preferments, that are of this opinion," &c. Now, it is quite evident from this passage, that the higher classes of Tories, such as were enabled to dispense Church Patronage, were sought for, and were the most successfully to be courted for preferment,—IN THE TAVERN !

Patten, in his history, strongly attests to the same custom having been perpetuated by High Church Tories in 1715, stating also that, " being prepared with the noisy notion of the Church's being in danger,—healths and full bumpers were tossed about with distinguished names, characters, and wishes, and concluded with Confusion, Damnation, and destruction to others whom they durst not name."—[Preface to Patten's History.]

It was a happy remark of the present time, ascribed to Marshal Soult, that " kingdoms were not to be overcome by singing the Marseillaise in the theatres;" and if this veteran warrior had lived in the year 1715, no doubt he would have been equally certain, that James the Third was not to be established on the throne of England by drinking Jacobite bumpers at Taverns.

Such was the unfortunate habit of the High Church Tories in Lancashire, as well as in other counties; to which was attributed, especially by the Roman Catholics, much of the disastrous result of the insurrection of 1715.

[d] THE JACOBITE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE MOST AIDED BY THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

It was the Roman Catholics of Lancashire, who, with no noisy pretences uttered during the excitement of tavern conspiracies

and convivialities, most aided the Jacobite cause. They hastened to join the Scottish standard of revolt, stimulated by an ancient loyalty to the Royal House of Stuart, and by the sanguine hope, that, with the restoration of this family, all the persecutions and civil disabilities inflicted upon them would cease, and that they would be restored to the rights of subjects of the realm, from which, since the Reformation, they had been debarred.

[e] THE REMONSTRANCE OF KING GEORGE AGAINST HIGH CHURCH, FOR PROMOTING THE JACOBITE CAUSE.

After the insurrection had actually broken out, the following appeal to the nation was made from the throne against the Party, who, by the riots and tumults which had ensued from Sacheverell excitements, were regarded by His Majesty as the chief instigators of the rebellion in England.

"The endeavouring to persuade my people that the Church of England is in danger under my government, has been the main cause of the artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traiterous design. This insinuation, after the solemn assurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing that may tend to the advantage of the Church of England, is both unjust and ungrateful; nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a calumny can make any impression upon the minds of my faithful subjects, as that they can be so far misled, as to think the Church of England is to be secured by setting a Popish Pretender on the throne."—[See the King's Speech, September 21. 1715.]

PART II.

MARCH OF THE INSURGENTS

OF 1715,

FROM SCOTLAND,

UNTIL THEY REACHED

PENRITH IN CUMBERLAND.

CONTENTS.

Page

CHAPTER I.

The Highland Force under the Earl of MAR, from which a detachment was sent to England, ... 33

CHAPTER II.

Journals of the Three Confederate Forces, consisting of, 1st, a detachment of the North Highlanders, under Brigadier MACKINTOSH; 2d, of the South Country Scots; and, 3d, of the Northumbrians,—until they severally effected a junction at Kelso, ... 35

CHAPTER III.

Journal of the March from the junction of the Confederate Troops at Kelso to Langham, where it was resolved to march to Lancashire, . 51

CHAPTER IV.

March from Langham to Penrith in Cumberland, . . . 64

CHAPTER I.

THE HIGHLAND FORCE UNDER THE EARL OF MAR, FROM WHICH A STRONG DETACHMENT WAS SENT TO ENGLAND.

When, in the Scottish Highlands, the Earl of Mar had set up a standard at Kirkmichael for James the Eighth of Scotland, the clans began to move. The "fiery cross" was sent round, emblematic of the penalty of fire and sword to such as dared to disobey its significant import.

That this awful summons of war had been used so late as the year 1715, was proved by the declaration of such of the Highland rebels as were subsequently tried at Liverpool. They declared "that they were forced into that service by 'a Cross Stick,' commonly called 'a Fiery Cross,' with blood on one end and fire on the other; the person that carried it from house to house assuring them, that unless they repaired immediately to Mar's camp, that was to be their fate."—[Weekly Journal, of February 4th, 1716, as quoted by Rae, in his History of the Rebellion of 1715.]

The meaning of this symbol, familiar to most Antiquaries, is illustrated by a very early and rude specimen of wood engraving, in the first edition of Olaus Magnus "De gentibus Septentrionalibus." To the generality of readers, this war-sign is better known from the popular account given of it in Sir Walter Scott's Lady of the Lake.

A subsequent proclamation of James the Eighth took place at

Moulin, from which place Mar marched to Logierait with about a thousand men. Dunkeld became the subsequent head-quarters, where there joined about 1400 of the Duke of Atholl's men, commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, and 500 of the Earl of Breadalbane's population.

On the 18th of September Colonel Hay succeeded in surprising Perth, which Mar subsequently occupied, where he was joined by forces raised by the Earls of Strathern, Southesk, Panmure, Marischall, and other influential noblemen and chieftains.

On the 5th of October, the Laird of Mackintosh raised a regiment, which was organized by Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum. Other clans followed, and eventually the Earl of Mar found himself at the head of twelve thousand men.

These formidable preparations were not unheeded by Government. As the Earl of Seaforth, in the North Highlands, had got together two or three thousand men with an intention to join Mar, this design was opposed by the exertions of a nobleman in the interest of the Government. The Earl of Sutherland, in obtaining the co-operation of the clans of Rea, Munro, the Grants and Rosses, had embarked on board a man-of-war with the intention to watch Seaforth's motions. And, in the mean time, a ship containing 306 stand of arms, intended for the Earl of Sutherland, was seized at Burntisland by a party under Mar's command.

The Earl of Mar then found it necessary to lose no time, before the reinforcement of Government troops should arrive from Ireland, in commencing an active campaign. He had information that allies in the Southern districts of Scotland were about to rise in East Lothian, and on the borders of England. The Northumberland Jacobites had also sent over to Mar for a regiment of Foot, in order to defend them in their intended rising. With the view, therefore, of strengthening these attempts in the south, the Earl, being master of the Coast of Fife, ordered a detachment of twenty-five hundred men to cross the Firth from Burntisland, as a reinforcement to aid these several movements.

As these were the confederate forces who eventually marched to Lancashire, their respective routes, until they effected a junction at Kelso, will be explained in the succeeding Chapter.

1390736

CHAPTER II.

JOURNALS OF THE THREE CONFEDERATE FORCES, CONSISTING, FIRST, OF A DETACHMENT OF THE NORTH HIGHLANDERS UNDER BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH; SECONDLY, OF THE SOUTH COUNTRY SCOTS; AND, THIRDLY, OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS,—UNTIL THEY EFFECTED A JUNCTION AT KELSO.

In this chapter, the routes of the three Confederate Forces will be explained in succession. It will be impossible, however, to give them in all their details ; no farther knowledge of them being necessary in this work, than to connect the marches of these Insurgents with what took place upon their arriving in the counties contiguous to Lancashire.

1st, JOURNAL OF THE HIGHLAND DETACHMENT UNDER BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH, FROM PERTH TO KELSO.

The detachment from Head-Quarters at Perth consisted of six regiments, viz., the Earl of Strathmore's, the Earl of Mar's, under the command of Major Nathaniel Forbes, Logie Drummond's, Lord Nairn's, Lord Charles Murray's, and Mackintosh's. To this force were added many Gentlemen Volunteers under the command

of Captains Skene and MacLean, and two subaltern officers. The whole amounted to twenty-five hundred men.

The command of this detachment was assigned to Brigadier Mackintosh, who had served in Holland with King James's Guards. He was an old and well-experienced officer, fearless in real danger, yet, at the same time, from his familiarity with all the ruses, or stratagems of foreign campaigners, particularly cautious. By his English confederates, the character of this brave soldier has been too harshly dealt with, of which due notice will be taken in the course of the narrative. The Brigadier, often styled by his Highland associates the Laird of Borlum, was kinsman to The Mackintosh, who, as the chief of a most powerful clan, named Clancattan, had brought up to Mar six hundred or more well-disciplined men.

As the Highlanders, under the Brigadier's escort, eventually made their appearance in Lancashire, some little account of their costume and manners, as extracted from a Scottish work of this very period, may be acceptable. It is to be found in a "History of the Kingdom of Scotland by J. W., M.D., Dublin, 1724." This work is attributed to Dr Wallace.

"The Highlanders," says this writer, "handle the broadsword and targe, with which they defy any single weapon, and are very good marksmen with firearms, as guns or side pistols, as also in handling the dirk, or dagger, or as they call it 'Skein Bidog,' which weapon they use in battle when they cannot well wield the broadsword. They seldom appear without four weapons, namely, broadsword, dirk, carbine, and side pistol, and often a pair.

"Their Clothes are thin and light, for most part made of plaids standing very much to Black, Red, Blue and Green, which makes their clothes near a Heath colour, which they at first designed in war time, to keep them undiscovered from their enemies when they lay among the Heath; there being very long heath in many parts of the Highlands. By wearing such colours, they often had the advantage of the enemy, especially when dark, or after, or before the sun, at which time an army of Highlanders cannot be discerned on a heath, though very near.

"The manner of their dress is in short coat, trews and plaid; the trews being breeches and hose in one piece. For marching, or travelling, they dress in short coat and short hose, with a belted plaid without breeches, and with their thighs naked; but the plaid being gathered under the belt, like a woman's petticote, it covers their nakedness. In this dress they, without any concern, can travel through deep snow and frost, and lie in the fields without any covering but their plaid over them, with the targe raised by the hilt of the broad sword for their pillow; nor do they love any soft bed although in their offer."

Lord Charles Murray, a younger son of the Duke of Atholl, appears to have been one of the Highland officers who distinguished himself by assimilating his manners to those of the clan, or regiment, which he commanded. Patten describes him as "brave and highly graceful, having formerly been a cornet of Horse beyond sea." In this expedition "he would never be prevailed upon," adds this author, "to ride, or even to mount a horse to cross the rivers, but, in his Highland dress, without breeches, kept at the head of his regiment on foot."

Such was the display of the Highland Force which Brigadier Mackintosh commanded. As Mar was in possession of the whole of Fife, the directions were to get as many over the Firth as possible, and to send such as might be unsuccessful in the attempt to cross, back to Head-quarters. Accordingly, the detachment, in quitting the head-quarters at Perth, marched to the sea coast of Fife, covered by some cavalry; and as their road led near Lesley, the seat of the Earl of Rothes, a supporter of the Government, the Highlanders could not be restrained from plundering the house, and even from desecrating the church, where they destroyed the family monuments.

Having, on the 11th of October, reached the Firth, they were, on the following day, made aware of their perilous undertaking. This channel was defended by three ships of war, three custom-house smacks, and several boats belonging to Leith. Yet, in the very face of this force, Mackintosh resolved, as night approached, upon the attempt to cross. The King's shipping made towards

them, but could not, with the greatest exertions which they used, prevent at least 1500 of the detachment from reaching the opposite side of the water on the East Lothian coast. Of all the regiments, that of the Brigadier's kinsman, Colonel Mackintosh, was the only one which came over the Firth entire, the rest having more or less suffered from such boats as were obliged to retreat to the Fife coast. The Earl of Strathmore's battalion was by the King's men of war forced back altogether, and compelled to go on shore in the Isle of May, where they entrenched themselves, and, after gallantly resisting a landing party of their opponents, found means to return to Fife in safety.

This daring attempt, in the face of so strong a naval force, the Brigadier had managed with consummate skill and bravery. Those who could not cross the Frith and were obliged to return, retraced their steps to Perth. A very trifling number indeed fell into the power of the cruisers, and were confined in Leith.

Thursday, October 13.—The troops who had succeeded in crossing marched from the sea coast at North Berwick, Aberlady, Gulan, and other places, to Haddington and Tranent. While resting at these towns one night, the Brigadier was invited by the Jacobites of Edinburgh to make an attempt, in the absence of Argyll, upon the metropolis of Scotland, being assured that, if unsuccessful, it would at least cause some commotion. Mackintosh listened to this recommendation, although his instructions from the Earl of Mar were to remain at Haddington, and there wait for the rising of the Lowland Scots and Northumbrians.

Friday, October 14th.—Mackintosh marched towards Edinburgh and advanced as far as Jock's Lodge; but, finding no encouragement to proceed with the attack, bent his march towards Leith, the demolished fort of which he entered, and began to fortify it anew. He also released the prisoners who had been taken by the cruisers. In the mean time, Argyll, who had hastened from Stirling to the protection of Edinburgh, this day accomplished his journey.

Saturday, October 15th.—The Duke appeared before Leith, and, on summoning the fort to surrender, was insulted by the

Highlanders ;—finding, also, that he was not in a condition for attack, he returned to Edinburgh with the intention of cannonading and bombarding them the day following. Mackintosh then deeming it prudent to withdraw from Leith, took advantage, about nine o'clock at night, of the low ebb of the tide, and directed his course eastward. At Musselburgh, his men, from mistake, challenged a gentleman, one of their own party, who, not being able to give an answer in Gaelic, was by a Highlander shot dead on the spot. The Brigadier has been charged by his enemies with having taken away the money found upon the person of the deceased. That night the force reached Seaton House, the mansion of the Earl of Wintoun, an active Jacobite, who was then absent, and employed in raising the Scottish Lowland force. As Seaton House had been well fortified, Mackintosh found himself here very strongly posted.

Sunday, October 16th.—At this time a ruse of the Earl of Mar came into play, the object of which had been to divert Argyll from falling upon the detachment which had crossed the Firth. In marching from Perth to Dumblane, Mar succeeded in inducing the Duke to countermand the orders which he had given the day preceding to bring artillery before Seaton House. This day Argyll quitted Edinburgh, in order to prevent the important pass of Stirling Bridge from falling into the hands of the enemy ; but, before going north, he sent out a detachment of Evans's dragoons, with a party of the volunteer horse, in the direction of Seaton House. As soon as they appeared at Prestonpans, a party of the Highlanders marched out of the Castle to receive them, before whom the Government troops retired, and that night returned to Edinburgh.

Monday, October 17th.—The Lord Torphichen, with 200 dragoons, and the Earl of Rothes, with 300 Gentlemen volunteers, marched from Edinburgh to Seaton House, but found the Highlanders so strongly entrenched within the gates, that it was impossible to dislodge or reduce them without artillery. After exchanging, therefore, some shots with the Insurgents, they returned that night to Edinburgh. Mackintosh then employed him-

self in storing Seaton House with great plenty of cows, sheep, meal, and other provisions.

Tuesday, October 18th.—The Brigadier received information that the Northumbrian and South Country Scots Gentlemen had risen, which was confirmed by an express from Mr Forster, inviting him to meet the Northumbrian party on the Border, at Coldstream or Kelso. Letters, at the same time, came from the Earl of Mar, ordering the Highlanders to march south towards England.

Wednesday, October 19th.—From Seaton to Longformacus. —The Highlanders, on leaving Seaton House, of which possession was immediately afterwards taken by the Government forces, marched to Longformacus, a distance of seventeen Scots miles, with the troops of Major General Wightman harassing them in the rear. On the route, the Highlanders plundered the house of Dr Sinclair, an active Government man, who in a party fray had killed a younger son of Mr Hepburn of Keith, an influential Jacobite.

Thursday, October 20th.—From Longformacus to Dunse.— Here they learned that Kelso was abandoned by the Government troops, in anticipation of the approach of the Insurgents.

Friday, October 21st, at Dunse.—They rested here the whole day, when James the Eighth was proclaimed. The Brigadier also took special care to collect from the Excise the public revenue.

Saturday, October 22d.—From Dunse to Kelso, where the Highlanders formed a junction with the Northumbrian insurgents, and with the insurgent force raised in the south of Scotland. Their meeting will be subsequently described.

2d, MARCH OF THE INSURGENTS RAISED IN THE SOUTH OF SCOTLAND, FROM MOFFAT, IN ANNANDALE, TO KELSO.

The Viscount Kenmure, at the instigation of the Earl of Mar, had taken up arms for James the Eighth, and had accepted the command of such forces as would join him on the south of the

Forth. In this coalition of the south country Scots, we find the following noblemen associated with William Lord Kenmure, viz. William Earl of Nithsdale, George Earl of Wintoun, Robert Earl of Carnwath, and William Lord Nairn.

These noblemen agreed, that, with their followers, they would appear armed at Moffat, in Annandale, on or about the 10th of October. Accordingly, we are told, that about the 7th or 8th of that month, the Earl of Wintoun left his seat at Seaton in East Lothian, armed with broadsword and pistols, and a retinue of 14 or 15 men, five of whom were servants in livery, and the rest domestic gentlemen. It seems that he paid his servants 18d., or two shillings a day. (See State trial of the Earl of Wintoun.)

As the town of Dumfries was advised that the Insurgents intended to take that place, the whole of Dumfriesshire was up in arms.

Tuesday, October 11th.—Moffat. William Calderwood, formerly an officer in the Dutch service, who had been enlisted in the Jacobite cause by Lord Kenmure, and appointed Quarter-Master, appeared at Moffat with about seventy horse. Lord Wintoun is said to have joined him this day.

Wednesday, October 12th.—Moffat. The Lords Kenmure and Carnwath, having, near Lochmaben, seized some arms belonging to the militia, joined this day.

Thursday, October 13th.—From Moffat the Insurgents marched towards Dumfries, with the intention to surprise the town, but, hearing of the strong preparations which had been made to receive them, they agreed, after many disputes and contentions among themselves, to march to Lochmaben. Here they set up a new standard, which had been wrought by Lady Kenmure. One side of the banner was blue, with the Scots arms done in gold, and, on the other side, was a thistle, with " No Union" under it, and above " Nemo me impune lacessit." Attached to the standard were pendants of white ribbon, upon one of which was written " For our wronged King and oppressed Country," and on the other " For our Lives and Liberties."—At this place was also proclaimed James the Eighth, the Lords on horseback drawing at

the same time their swords. The standard was afterwards carried by the Hon. John Dalziel, brother to the Earl of Carnwath.

Friday, October 14th.—From Lochmaben to Ecclefechan. In halting upon a Common on their march, they were found to number 200 men. This force was divided into two squadrons, severally commanded by the Earls of Wintoun and Carnwath, while the chief command was given to the Viscount Kenmure

Saturday, October 15th.—From Ecclefechan to Langholm.

Sunday, October 16th.—From Langholm to Hawick, where they proclaimed James the Eighth. Upon entering the town, they received an express from Mr Forster, intimating a desire that Lord Kenmure and his force would join the Northumbrians at Rothbury.

Monday, October 17th.—From Hawick to Jedburgh, where James the Eighth was proclaimed.

Tuesday, October 18th.—From Jedburgh to Rothbury. This march, over a mountainous and marshy country, was tedious. From Rothbury they sent a messenger, Mr Burnett of Carlips, to Mr Forster, then at Hexham, to inquire whether he would come forward to them, or whether they should advance towards his quarters. Word was returned, that the Northumbrians would join them at this town.

Wednesday, October 19th.—At Rothbury. The Northumbrian force having heard that General Carpenter was intending to attack them, made a long march, and, at night, joined the South Country Scots at Rothbury.

Thursday, October 20th.—From Rothbury to Wooler. At Wooler they were advised that the Highlanders, under Brigadier Mackintosh, had advanced as far as Dunse.

Friday, October 21st.—At Wooler. Here the united force having been much fatigued, rested the whole day.

Saturday, October 22d.—From Wooler to Kelso. Before entering Kelso, in order to join Mackintosh's Highlanders, it was found necessary to organise the force of the South Country Scots, especially as it was reinforced by a Merse Troop, under the command of the Hon. James Hume. This was accomplished after the following manner :—

The Lord Viscount Kenmure had the chief command. He is represented "as a grave, full aged gentleman, of great knowledge in political business, but utterly a stranger to military matters;—too calm and mild also to be appointed to such a post."

The first Troop was that of Lord Kenmure, the command of which he gave to the Hon. Basil Hamilton of Beldoun, of the Duke of Hamilton's family.

The second Troop, named the Merse Troop, was commanded by the Hon. James Hume, Brother to the Earl of Hume.

The third Troop was that of the Earl of Wintoun, and was commanded by himself. He was generous, brave, and judicious; —too judicious, in fact, to gain himself friends among the rash, uncontrollable spirits with whom he was obliged to co-operate. The command of his troop he gave to Captain James Dalziel, Brother of the Earl of Carnwath, a young gentleman who had been formerly in the service of the Government.

The fourth Troop was that of Robert Dalziel, Earl of Carnwath. He had studied long in Cambridge, and was a fervent High Church Tory, often adverting to the precepts of Hereditary right, passive obedience and non-resistance. The command of this troop his Lordship assigned to his uncle James Dalziel, Esq.

The fifth Troop was that of Captain Lockhart, a half-pay officer of Lord Mark Kerr's regiment, and brother to Mr Lockhart of Carnwath. This troop was composed of several servants belonging to the Laird of Carnwath.—[See Patten's History of the Rebellion, p. 49 et seq.]

3d, THE MARCH OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN FORCE FROM PLAINFIELD TO KELSO.

The conspirators agreed to appear in arms on the 6th of October, chiefly with a view to prevent the execution of the warrants which had been issued out by Government against them. But, previously to the meeting, they sent to Mar for a regiment of foot, in order to enable them to effect a junction with the main force.

Thursday, October 6th.—From Plainfield to Rothbury. Forster collected his own small party well mounted and armed at a place called Greenrig, whence they removed to the top of a hill named the Waterfalls. Here they saw the Earl of Derwentwater riding up with a number of friends and all his servants well prepared, whom they immediately joined. In passing through Corbridge they drew their swords, and being met by other gentlemen, they at length formed sixty horse. They then marched, in the direction of the River Coquett, to a spot named Plainfield, which was the first place of rendezvous. Their object was next declared, which was to surprise Newcastle, where they had ardent friends, and where they expected to obtain arms, ammunition, and recruits. In the mean time, they resolved to enlist no foot soldiers, until from Newcastle they should be enabled to arm them. From Plainfield they marched to Rothbury, there to remain the night.

Friday, October 7th.—From Rothbury to Warkworth. On this march their number was much increased.

Saturday, October 8th.—At Warkworth. Lord Widdrington joined them with thirty horse. It was agreed that Mr Forster should now style himself General Forster.

Sunday, October 9th.—At Warkworth. General Forster sent Mr Buxton, the Chaplain of the Insurgent force, to Mr Ion, the parson of the parish, with orders to pray for the Chevalier St George as King; and, in the litany, "for Mary Queen Mother, and all the dutiful Branches of the Royal Family." But, as Mr Ion declined, Mr Buxton took possession of the pulpit. "His sermon," says Patten, "gave mighty encouragement to his hearers, being full of exhortations, flourishing arguments, and cunning insinuations to be hearty and zealous in the cause." After the service, James the Third was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet.

Upon this day, in consequence of the activity of the insurgents having been made known to Government, Hotham's foot, which had been quartered at Yorkshire, entered Newcastle.

Monday, October 10th.—Warkworth. They were here joined, by about 40 horse from Scotland.—This was the Merse Troop,

commanded by the Hon. James Hume, brother to the Earl of Hume, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. From a journal kept by an officer of this troop it appears, that, on the 6th of October, the force had been mustered at Coldstream, where James the Eighth of Scotland was proclaimed, and his declaration fixed to the market cross. On the day following they had marched to Cornhill, where the proclamation was repeated, and on a subsequent day to Wooler, where they rested on the Sunday. Here they attended public worship, and, in the collects for the sovereign, the curate mentioned the king in general, without particularizing any name. Having received intelligence that the Garrison of Berwick intended to attack them, they marched, after proclaiming the king, to Lazberry nigh Warkworth, where Mr Forster with the Northumberland gentlemen were posted.

Tuesday, October 11th.—Warkworth.—Hume's force marched from Lazberry to Felton.

Wednesday, October 12th.—Warkworth. An officer of the Merse Troop arrived from Felton, who, in his journal, gives the following curious account of his interview with Forster. "Being informed that Sir Charles Hotham's regiment was upon their march to surprise us, who were not above sixty gentlemen, I was dispatched to Warkworth to communicate this intelligence to Mr Forster, who was accompanied with six hundred gentlemen. I passed through the garrison to Mr Forster's lodgings without being challenged, where, finding no servant, I knocked at his chamber door, upon which he called out to desire me to seek his servant, who had the key of the door; to whom I replied, 'That being on express about matters of consequence, I had no time to go a hunting grooms.' So I forcibly thrust open the door, where, finding the Lord Widdrington and Forster in bed, I delivered my commission, begging a reinforcement to be sent to Felton. Mr Forster returned for answer, 'That it was not possible that any forces could come from Newcastle without his knowledge, for he had a settled intelligence forty miles round.' To whom I replied, 'That a gentleman of known integrity had rode twenty miles to give us notice of our danger, so that we, being but a handful,

might be easily cut off.' Upon which the Lord Widdrington pressed an immediate reinforcement. Accordingly, the troop of Captain John Hunter was sent with me."

On this day a part of Lord Cobham's regiment of dragoons arrived at Newcastle.

Thursday, Oct. 13th.—From Warkworth to Alnwick. Here they rested the night.

It appears that Hume's troop at Felton had been joined by the East Lothian gentlemen.

Friday, Oct. 14th.—From Alnwick to Morpeth. The Northumbrians were joined on Morpeth Common by the force from Felton Bridge, consisting of 70 Scots horse. Mustering about 300 men, they then proceeded to Morpeth.—Here they heard that Mr Lancelot Errington, with a party, had taken Holy Island, with the view of being enabled to give signals to the ships from which they expected succours from abroad.

By this time numbers would have joined the Northumbrian Force as Infantry soldiers, whom they refused to enlist until the gates of Newcastle and its military stores should be opened to them, when it was expected they would be aided by Sir William Blackett, who had in his service a great number of Colliers and Keelmen.

But there having been a painful delay in the arrival of intelligence from Newcastle, they resolved, for the present, to proceed to Hexham, which they supposed would be convenient to them, not only for keeping up a correspondence with their Scottish allies, but even with Lancashire, where they had been led to reckon upon many friends joining them, who belonged to the Roman Catholic and High Church parties.

Saturday, 15th October.—From Morpeth to Hexham. Upon arriving at Hexham they were joined by more Scottish Horse. In their irresolution what farther route to take, they set off in a desultory manner towards Dilston, the seat of the Earl of Derwentwater, about three miles distant, when they made a halt upon a heath. Here they got information most adverse to all their hopes and plans. The Magistrates of Newcastle having received notice

of the activity of the insurgents, had raised Train Bands, seized all Papists, and shut their gates. The Earl of Scarborough had come to their assistance, while the neighbouring gentlemen had armed and mounted their friends and tenants. About 700 of the inhabitants had acted as volunteers, while the Keelmen, who, from being chiefly Presbyterians, or Protestant dissenters, were inflamed with religious zeal, had offered a body of 700 men in addition. They also learned that a battalion of Infantry and part of a regiment of Dragoons had been ordered out of Yorkshire, for the security of the town.

Upon receiving this information the Insurgents returned to Hexham.

Sunday, 16th October.—Hexham. As the Curate declined to perform service where James the Third was to be prayed for, Mr Buxton officiated.

Monday, 17th October.—Hexham. The Northumbrian Insurgents were employed in organising their force, which was said to have been neither so well armed nor so well regulated as that of the Scots. There were five troops, and a list of their officers was handed about for approbation.

The first troop was that of the Earl of Derwentwater, which was commanded by his brother, Charles Radcliffe, Esq., and Captain John Shaftoe.—The second troop was Lord Widdrington's, commanded by Mr Thomas Errington of Beaufront, a cadet of the family, who had formerly been an officer in the French service.—The third troop was commanded by Captain John Hunter, whose residence was on the North Tyne, where he had rendered himself famous for running contraband goods. In Queen Anne's reign he had obtained a commission for raising an independent company for the service of the government.—The fourth troop was commanded by Robert Douglas, brother to the Laird of Finland in Scotland. He had rendered himself useful in having been the medium of Mar's correspondence with England. Previously, he had been a Borderer, celebrated for forays. Captain Douglas was indefatigable in searching throughout the country for arms and horses,—a trade which, it was said, he had followed out of

the Rebellion, as well as in it.—The fifth troop was commanded by Captain Nicholas Wogan, an Irish gentleman, but descended from a Welsh family. He was a brave and gallant officer.—All these troops, with the view of conciliating the influential gentlemen who had joined them, were doubly officered.—[Patten's History, p. 60 et seq.]

Tuesday, 18th October.—Hexham. News arrived that Lieut.-General Carpenter had been ordered by Government to go in pursuit of the Rebels with Hotham's regiment of Foot, Cobham's, Molesworth's, and Churchhill's dragoons;—for which purpose, he had set out from London on the 15th October, and had arrived at Newcastle on the 18th, where he was only waiting for the coming up of the regiments to make the attack at Hexham. They likewise learned that Holy Island had been retaken, and that Errington and his party had been made prisoners at Berwick.

The Insurgent force was also apprised by Mr Burnett of Carlips, who had been dispatched for the purpose, that the Viscount Kenmure, along with several other noblemen and gentlemen, had risen in Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire, and other parts of the south of Scotland, and that having entered England to join the Northumbrians, they were then at Rothbury, waiting to know if the party would meet them there, or if they should advance.

This intelligence required little deliberation. It was resolved to immediately march out of the town, where they had lingered three entire days. At night, therefore, before quitting, they were all drawn round the Cross in the market place, when James the Third was proclaimed, and the proclamation affixed to the cross.

Wednesday, 19th October.—From Hexham to Rothbury. In making a long march, they joined the South Country Scots that night.

Thursday, 20th October.—From Rothbury to Wooler. The united force remained at Wooler during the night.

Friday, 21st October.—Wooler. Here the Insurgents rested the whole day, during which they were joined by an important personage in the Rebellion, the Reverend Robert Patten of Allendale, who subsequently wrote its History. Mr Patten states that

on the day previously, as he was proceeding over Rothbury Common with a party of keelmen, whom he had enlisted in the Jacobite cause, he met with some men, whom, at first, he suspected to be some of the militia, and kept at a distance, but discovering that they had no arms, he made up to them. Mr Patten then proceeds to describe the conference which ensued, as follows:—"I asked them what news, and whither they designed? They answered (but especially one, a brave, stout young fellow), 'We are Scotsmen, going to our homes, to join our countrymen that are in arms for King James.' I told him, 'He was very bold.' 'Sir,' said he, 'I'll drink his health just now.' So with his bonnet, which he dipt into a runner, he said, 'Here is King James's health!' which all his party did. After this I told them, if they were sincere and would follow me, I would bring them to their countrymen; which they promised to be. I gave each of them a shilling. Drawing near to the town, I left them under a hedge till I could inquire what was become of the rebels, and if we could by ourselves lodge safely there. I inquired for the best inn, and having been directed there, I found Mr Charles Wogan's man who came with me from Hexham, but parted for fear of being taken. He gave me a pair of pistols; so I returned to my companions and brought them quietly into town, both wet and weary, and immediately went to the Head Constable and told him, That if he would give us no disturbance we would stay all night, civilly paying for what we had; but if he intended to make a prey of us, our friends being gone, we would then follow them. He made fair promises, but not daring to trust him too much, made him sure in his own house; so that we watched him by turns till early next day, when we set out from the town of Rothbury for Wooler, and there joined the English and Scots Horse, and were kindly entertained by the chiefs."—[Patten's History of the late Rebellion, &c., 2d Ed. p. 36.]

Patten, as a High Church Tory, had no doubt felt enthusiastic in the cause.—While at Wooler, Mr Errington, who had escaped from the Governor of Berwick's hands, brought intelligence of the Highlanders, under Brigadier Mackintosh, having come to join

them, and having advanced as far as Dunse. Upon hearing this, they resolved to give the Highlanders the meeting at Kelso.

Saturday, October 22d.—From Wooler to Kelso.—On this route they seized several horses, and made Mr Selby, a gentleman of that country, prisoner. Before arriving at their destination, they halted upon a moor, where the rolls of the different troops were called over. While thus employed, there came intelligence that Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, who had been at Kelso, and had barricaded the town, had gone off in the night with his men, who were militia and servants, and that they might now enter the town without opposition. They accordingly continued their march, and, crossing the River Tweed, though at the time very deep and rapid, took quiet possession of Kelso.

Mackintosh had not then arrived. The South Country Scots, in compliment, as they professed, to the bravery of the Highlanders in crossing the Frith, and in so often facing their enemies, gave them the meeting, on the Scots side of the town, at Ednam Bridge. They appeared with bagpipes playing, led by old Mackintosh; but, it is added, they cut an indifferent figure on account of their fatigue from the rain and long march. About three o'clock in the afternoon, all the three forces, Highlanders, South Country Scots, and Northumbrians, had effected a junction.

Mackintosh, if we are to credit a virulent Whig Historian, was little satisfied with the display made by Forster, who is described as "an illiterate, half-witted country squire, in the worst acceptation of the word." "The English Rebels," adds Oldmixon, "under the command of Forster, were most of them Horse, and made a good appearance; but the riders, having only hunting-saddles, with swords by their sides, and whips in their hands, Mackintosh, an old soldier, shook his head and said 'This will never do.'"

The Earl of Derwentwater, it appears, had been remonstrated with on this appointment, but his excuse was as follows: "What could we do better? The Catholics were not to appear at the head of the business; High Church was to do it. And whom could we in Northumberland pick out to please High Church better, than

Mr Forster, Knight of the shire, who represented all of them ?'—[Oldmixon's Hist. of England, p. 616.]

As it was agreed that Lord Kenmure should have the chief command of the united force so long as it remained in Scotland, and that he should surrender up this power to Forster in case they entered England, it may not be quite devoid of interest to know something of the personal appearance of the individual to whose generalship the Jacobite cause was to be entrusted. This information happens to be afforded in the proclamation, of which he eventually became the subject, after he had made his escape from Newgate. Forster is described as one "of a middle stature, inclining to be fat, well shaped, except that he stoops in his shoulders, fair complexioned, his mouth wide, his nose pretty large, and his eyes grey." It is also added, that "he speaks the Northern dialect."

Such was the General, totally inexperienced in warfare, and far too self-opinionated, to whom the destinies of the confederate force were intended to be committed.

After the three parties had formed a junction, they are said to have made up an army of 1400 foot and 600 horse, of which about 200 were menial servants.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNAL OF THE MARCH, FROM THE JUNCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE TROOPS AT KELSO, TO LANGHAM, WHERE IT WAS RESOLVED TO MARCH TO LANCASHIRE.

Sunday, 23d October 1715.—Kelso.—On this day, Sunday, the confederate troops, professing among themselves three religions, yet bound together by one common object of Jacobitism, met together. As these parties, Presbyterians, High Church Tories, and

Roman Catholics, seemed quite aware of the mischief which might result from giving way to their sectarian prejudices, they appeared intent only upon acting in concert.

At this time, there was no fewer a number than three clergymen who had attached themselves to the Confederate force. These were, first, the Reverend Mr Buxton of Derbyshire, of the Church of England, who had early assisted in the promotion of the Jacobite cause, and was usually considered as the Chaplain to the whole of the English force. The second was the Reverend Robert Patten, also of the Church of England, Minister of Allandale, who had recently joined, and been made Chaplain to General Forster: While the third was the Reverend William Irvine, Chaplain to the Earl of Carnwath, who was a Scottish Episcopalian and Nonjuror, having formerly officiated in the same capacity in the Highlands of Scotland to Lord Dundee and his men, when they rose in arms against King William. The Scottish Nonjurors were a disappointed class, who, as Episcopalians, had in vain supplicated Queen Anne, in the year 1702, that they might be restored to their parishes.

Lord Kenmure, having the chief command so long as the force should remain in Scotland, in deference to the English party, ordered the Church of England Service to be read at the Great Kirk of Kelso, and not at the Episcopal meeting-house, and gave further orders that all the men should attend Divine Service. Accordingly, such of the Lords as were Protestants, with a great number of Roman Catholics, attended. The Reverend Mr Buxton read prayers, to which the Scottish Presbyterians paid great attention. "It was very agreeable," observes Patten, "to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved, and answered the responses according to the Rubric, to the shame of many who pretend to more polite breeding." The sermon was preached by the same new clerical recruit, the Reverend Robert Patten, from Deut. xxi. 17, "THE RIGHT OF THE FIRST-BORN IS HIS." In the afternoon the Reverend William Irvine, the Scottish Nonjuror, read prayers and gave the sermon, which,

as he stated, he had formerly preached in the Highlands of Scotland to the Lord Dundee, a little before the battle of Killiecrankie.

Monday 24th October.—Kelso.—In the morning, the Highlanders were drawn up in the Churchyard, whence, with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing, they marched in regular order to the market place ; an inner circle having been formed by the Gentlemen Volunteers, while the Lords stood in the centre.

Silence having been then proclaimed, the trumpet sounded, and Seaton of Barnes, who assumed the title of Earl of Dumfermline, read the proclamation.

The preamble stated, that, by the decease of the late King James the Seventh, the imperial Crown of these realms had lineally descended to his lawful heir and son, our Sovereign James the Eighth, and that the Lords and others did accordingly declare him to be the lawful King over Scotland, England, &c.

A manifesto was next read, professing to contain the sentiments of the Scottish adherents of James the Eighth. It set out with the well-known Tory Principle of the unalienable right by which they were bound to His family, and person. It then lamented the factions by which their fundamental constitution was destroyed; it lamented also the unhappy union of Scotland and England;—it deplored the loss of national resources, consumed in ruinous wars ;—the infraction of the Hereditary rights of subjects ;—the suborned, or packed-up character of the British Parliament;—the impeachments and attainders of patriots who had suffered for their endeavours to restore Trade, Plenty, and Peace ; —the bringing in a foreign Prince unacquainted with British manners, customs, and language ;—the support of his designs by foreign troops ;—and the contempt with which the military services of British troops were treated. It professed the determination to resort to the last extremities, in order to remedy these grievances, and to have their laws, liberties, and properties secured by the Parliaments of both kingdoms, trusting, at the same time, that by good example and conversation with learned Divines, His Majesty would, in time, lose the prejudices attributable to his

education in a Popish country, and be induced to give absolute security to the Protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary Power, Popery and all its other enemies. It, lastly, professed the hope that by a system of economy, such as the reduction of troops and garrisons, taxes would be removed, and the public credit sustained.

The reward of present military service in this expedition was next explained: it was declared that every officer should enjoy the post he then held, and should be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station, and the number of men he was enabled to bring;—that each foot-soldier should have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper, or dragoon, who might bring horse and accoutrements with him, twelve pounds sterling gratuity, besides his pay. The manifesto concluded with the hope, that, undisturbed by "a Pretender's" interests and council from abroad, or by a restless faction at home, the blessing and aid of Almighty God would be continued to so good and just a cause, and would be extended to the succour of the Royal Family of Stuart and their country, from sinking under oppression.

Such were the events, and such were the motives, which, in the minds of the Scottish Insurgents, had conspired, along with Toryism, in aid of the rebellious movement.

This manifesto which, in many respects, was more applicable to the Scottish than to the English views, and which, in its reference to the religion of James the Eighth of Scotland, could not fail to have been distasteful to the Roman Catholic party, is said to have been received with loud acclamations. The cry, however, which succeeded of "No Union"—"No malt-tax"—"No salt-tax," shewed that the approbation which it obtained, had proceeded from the Scottish rather than from the English Insurgents.

Tuesday, October 25th.—Kelso.—The troops were employed at Kelso, under the direction of Brigadier Mackintosh, in demanding all the public revenues of Excise, custom or taxes, and in searching for arms, of which they found very few. They obtained some small pieces of cannon, which had formerly belonged to Hume

Castle, and they discovered some broadswords and a trifling quantity of gunpowder concealed in the church. They also foraged at a seat of the Duke of Roxburgh, and brought in some hay. It was stated that they plundered several gentlemen's country seats, particularly the houses of Sir John Pringle of Stitchel, and Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, from which they carried away what "Peuther" [pewter] they could collect to melt down for bullets; that they also destroyed corn, &c.—[Rae's Rebellion, &c. p. 269.]

Patten, the Chaplain of General Forster, who, in common with his patron, took advantage of all occasions to disparage the moral character, no less than the military talents of Brigadier Mackintosh,—which last charge was, at least, an audacious presumption, as emanating from individuals who had no campaigning experience whatever,—conceived that he was entitled to make the following remark: "Brigadier Mackintosh, upon all the marches he had made, and in all the several towns he came at, had been very careful to collect all the money he could get of the public revenue. His avarice and covetousness very much discovered the man: for it is well known that he made false musters of his men, and gave them in far more numerous than they were, and so put the Old Soldier upon the Young General [i. e. Forster] which was discovered at last."—[Patten, page 18.]

Of these accusations, particularly of making false musters to deceive "the young General," the charge at least comes from a suspicious quarter, where existed the greatest jealousy of the regard with which the abilities of Mackintosh had inspired the whole army. But as for the love of plunder preferred against the Brigadier, no doubt whatever can be entertained of the fact. At the commencement of the last century, the very soul of a foreign campaigner was a love of plunder, which was convivially said to be only inferior to that of his mistress. Thus, if in the warfare of modern days, and in a later period, when the moral tone of a soldier is of a higher cast, the popular adage should be "Love and Fighting," the convivial motto a century and a half ago would have been, "Love and Plunder." This is expressed in the ballad

which appears in one of Congreve's plays, where it is said of the fair object of a campaigner's affection,

> " The soldier swore like Thunder
> " He loved her more than Plunder."

If, therefore, Brigadier Mackintosh should have been found in one place to take notable care of the public excise, or even to make free with a foeman's purse, or his watch, some little allowance ought in charity to have been made for the most common of all practices taught in the camps abroad, among which the Old Soldier had been nurtured.

Wednesday October 26th.—Kelso.—Intelligence arrived from the Earl of Mar of the state of the forces in the Scottish Highlands.

While the Brigadier was actively engaged in foraging and plundering, it is time to inquire how the Government was employed.

General Carpenter, who had been commissioned to observe the motions of the Insurgents, had marched from Newcastle with Hotham's regiment of Foot, and Cobham's, Molesworth's and Churchhill's dragoons. They were all, by long marching, extremely fatigued, and two regiments of Dragoons were inexperienced, having been newly raised. His force is said to have not exceeded nine hundred men.

Thursday, October 27.—From Kelso to Jedburgh.—A dispatch having arrived from the scouts employed to watch the motions of the Government forces, brought word that General Carpenter lay at Wooler, intending the next day to attack Kelso. Lord Kenmure, as Commander of the Insurgent force while in Scotland, then called a COUNCIL OF WAR.

In this council, the Earl of Wintoun argued, that there was greater opportunity in Scotland than in England of rendering service to their cause. This sentiment met with support from Brigadier Mackintosh, and others of the Scottish leaders.

The advice of the Earl of Wintoun was to the following effect: —it was to fall back towards the North-west, leaving Edinburgh and Stirling to their fate ;—it was to join the Western Clans,

attacking in their way Dumfries, Glasgow, and other towns, whereby a communication might be opened with the Earl of Mar and his forces. He likewise explained, that after penetrating through the West of Scotland, and there co-operating with the clans, they would be further enabled, either to cross the Firth some miles above Stirling, or to send word to the Earl of Mar, that while his Lordship could charge the front of the Duke of Argyll's force, which was then very small, they would attack the enemy's rear.

But this very rational view was warmly opposed by the English, who proposed at once to pass the Tweed, and take advantage of the weariness and exhaustion of General Carpenter's troops, and of his inferiority of numbers, which were said, though very erroneously, not to exceed five hundred men.

But, as Patten remarks, " there was a fate attending all these counsels, for they could never agree to any one thing which tended to their advantage."

Mackintosh, in reference to the English advice, merely warned the officers in general, that the longer they deferred an engagement, the stronger opposition they were likely to meet with.

Amidst this uncertainty of opinion, there was only one step in which all parties were agreed ;—which was upon the expediency of instantly leaving Kelso.

Patten hints that a timorous feeling prevailed at the idea of the enemy being so very close at hand. But however that may be, they adopted a system of flight rather than of attack, and, in turning to the right, pressed on towards Jedburgh. After sustaining various panics on the road, and even when the cavalry had arrived at their destination, after remounting their horses,—under the false alarm that General Carpenter had fallen upon the foot, which had not then arrived,—and after drawing up, with pale faces, in order to relieve their comrades, they at length, upon the arrival of the Foot, betook themselves to their night's repose.

Friday, October 28th.—Jedburgh. The housekeepers of the Town were ordered by the Magistrates to furnish the Highlanders with oatmeal, every one according to his ability. They were here joined by Mr Ainslie of Blackhill, and some others.

While at Jedburgh, it was conceived important to obtain more precise information of the motions of the Government forces, which is reported after the following manner by the Merse officer of Mr Hume's troop, who was dispatched on the errand. Having been "sent to inquire into the situation and number of the enemy, I brought an account that Mr Carpenter had crossed the border with some of his troops, who were quartered at Hounham, Mendrom, Patston, Town-Yetholm and Kirk-Yetholm, Morebattle and Otterburn. At this time we were but eight short miles from the Yetholms, where was the centre of the enemy's quarters, they being cantoned about seven miles distant.

"Upon this intelligence, a COUNCIL OF WAR was convened, when the reasonableness of attacking the enemy was urged by some brave and wise men, but the overture was rejected upon the consideration, that we expected a better opportunity when joined by a greater force."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

Saturday, October 29th.—Jedburgh to Hawick. According to the same journal of the Merse officer, the Insurgents marched in no small confusion from Jedburgh, and made a halt on a moor, between Jedburgh and a small hill called Dunian, where they remained about two hours. Six gentlemen, who had been sent to spy out the enemy, reported, that they were at Yetholm; while the Merse officer himself brought word, that he saw part of the enemy upon their march towards Jedburgh.

It was then resolved, though as a temporary expedient only, to endeavour to gain three days' march on the Government forces, by crossing the mountains and pressing forward to England. In an evil hour, therefore, according to Patten, this miserable course of proceeding was resolved upon, and Captain Hunter was ordered with a small detachment to go into Tynedale, and prepare quarters for the troops which would follow.

But here began a mutiny. The Earl of Wintoun had privately tampered with the Highlanders, assuring them, that if they went to England, they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and sold for slaves in the plantations. As the Highlanders, therefore, could not be persuaded to cross the border, Captain Hunter's instruc-

tions were countermanded. A temporary, and even neutral course was then adopted, by orders to march towards Hawick.

But before arriving at Hawick, the Highlanders, who still supposed that they were marching towards England, separated themselves, and going to the top of a rising ground, there rested their arms, and declared, that if they were led on towards an enemy they would fight, but that they would not go to England. They professed themselves, at the same time, as attached to Lord Wintoun's plan, which was to aid the operations of Mar in the Scottish Highlands.

This breach of unanimity prevailed for some time. It is stated that the Highlanders resisted on account of being without pay, and that the difficulty was obviated by the officers raising L.500, which Mackintosh distributed to the men, with a promise of sixpence a day for the future. However, at length, the Highlanders were induced to engage, that they would keep together so long as they should remain in Scotland, but that upon any intention being expressed of going to England, they should be at liberty to return home.

The force then continued to march to Hawick, where they were sore straitened for quarters. The English Lords with their relations, and Mr Forster, took possession of the Duchess of Buccleugh's house.

About midnight a party of the insurgent horse was mistaken for enemies, when all the Highlanders ran to arms, and turned out. This was the detachment of the Merse officer returned with his exploring party, who, in his journal, gives the following account of the matter: "Upon our return we found our army flying to their arms, mistaking us for the van of the enemy:—such little care having been taken to post sentinels and scouts."

Sunday, October 30th.—From Hawick to Langholm. Before quitting Hawick early in the morning, Mr Forster had the sacrament administered to him by Mr Buxton and Mr Patten, when he announced, that if opportunity should serve, all the Protestants would be ordered to communicate.

In the morning of this day, the 30th, General Carpenter arrived

at Jedburgh, where he expected to find the rebels. He is said to have had with him 1000 dragoons of Cobham's, Molesworth's and Churchhill's regiments, and 600 foot of Hotham's.

The Merse officer, just quoted, had been sent from Hawick to learn the motions of Carpenter, which, in his Journal, he describes as follows: "Having been dispatched in quest of the enemy, I found them foraging about Jedburgh, and saw that their horses were jaded, and their foot raw and undisciplined. I came so near them, that I was pursued by twelve dragoons two long miles; but escaping their hands, I came to Hawick, and joined our army at Langholm."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

It subsequently appears, that when General Carpenter arrived at Jedburgh, he learned that the Rebels had left Hawick and marched towards Langholm. He then resolved to continue where he was, until he should hear what farther route they intended to take.

Upon the arrival of the Insurgent force at Langholm, an entirely new project was entertained. It was represented that the town of Dumfries was very rich;—that it maintained a considerable trade with England and the West of Scotland;—that it had a store of arms in the Tolbooth, and a quantity of Powder in the Tron steeple;—that the possession of this place would afford the troops a supply of arms, money, and ammunition;—that it would open a passage to Glasgow, then one of the best towns in Scotland, or even to England;—that a junction might here be formed with the Highland clans on the Coast;—that as no men of war were at that time in the Irish seas, they might here receive succours from France, and from Ireland;—and that the town contained no fortifications, and no regular troops, being merely defended by train-bands, militia, and townsmen. It was, lastly, argued, that the Duke of Argyll was in no condition to attack them, as, in the absence of reinforcements from Ireland or Holland, his troops did not amount to two thousand men.

Such were the reasons which induced the Insurgent Chiefs to send in the night a strong detachment of 400 horse under the command of the Earl of Carnwath, to Ecclefechan, with orders to

block up Dumfries, until the force could come up and make the attack.

Monday, 31st October.—Langholm; and thence two miles on the route to Ecclefechan. The Merse Officer in Hume's Troop, who had been dispatched the day before in quest of the Government force, arrived. He reported to Lord Kenmure that he found the enemy foraging about Jedburgh, and that he saw their horses were jaded, and their Foot raw and undisciplined; that he had ventured so near them, as to be pursued by twelve dragoons two long miles; but, that in escaping their hands, he had reached Hawick, and thence had proceeded to Head quarters.—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

Upon receiving this report Lord Kenmure again called a COUNCIL OF WAR, in order to deliberate upon the situation and strength of the enemy.

Mackintosh, upon hearing that General Carpenter was close in their rear, and who (as Oldmixon reports of him) saw nothing before him but starving or hanging, was for shortening the work by fighting: but Forster was against this bold step until they should get more horse. The Earl of Wintoun was still for Dumfries, on the plea that they had full business enough in Scotland, and that the best service which they could perform, would be to assist the Earl of Mar in reducing the Duke of Argyll, after which all Scotland would be their own.

Such was the variety of opinions expressed in the Council. Owing, as we are informed by the Merse Officer, to the great heats and divisions which arose, the chiefs "could come to no resolution, except only that the army should march; but they did not determine to what place."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

Soon afterwards the force appeared in marching order, when it was determined to set out for Ecclefechan, there to join the detachment which had been instructed to block up Dumfries.

The troops had not proceeded more than two miles from Langholm, on the road to Ecclefechan, when, upon a moor, they were hailed by Lord Widdrington, accompanied by some of his friends, with an invitation to march towards Lancashire. A general halt then took place.

It has been already stated, that this nobleman, a Roman Catholic, was a connection of Mr Townley of Townley, one of the leading families in Lancashire professing this religion. His Lordship came, therefore, bringing with him letters from this county to give information on the state of the public mind in Lancashire.

It will be again recollected, that Lord Widdrington had early visited Lancashire, with the view of inducing the Roman Catholics to aid in the rising of the Earl of Mar, and to join the force which had advanced into the South of Scotland. Another errand also had been, to confer with the Jacobites of Manchester, then under the stimulus of the recent Sacheverell riots, and to urge the High Church Tories to make common cause with the Roman Catholics.

His letters were read, being to the following effect:—That if the force from the south of Scotland would direct their march towards Lancashire, the High Church Tories of Manchester, aided by the Roman Catholics, would, upon the appearance among them of an armed body, rise at once in a mass; that the Jacobite army would be immediately joined by twenty thousand men; and that with this strong reinforcement, they would greatly promote the movements of their confederates in the Scottish Highlands. This information was accompanied by the recommendation of a speedy march to England.—[Patten's History, &c., 2d Ed., p. 72; Rae's History, &c., p. 278; and Oldmixon's History of this period, p. 617, &c. &c.]

Among men who, in reality, had no settled plan of operations, and were greatly divided on every possible question of military expediency, such information would be received with little reflection, whether, on the score of a probability of attainment, it ought, or ought not, to merit confidence, Accordingly, the leading Chiefs resolved to go to England, provided the Earl of Wintoun and Mackintosh, then absent, would consent to the proposal.

The Highlanders, in their antipathy to a march into England, had taken the greatest alarm; and symptoms of desertion having appeared, Mackintosh was employed in actively counteracting this intention. The Earl of Wintoun had also for a time quitted the ranks, in sullen meditation on the prospect of a hazardous English campaign. The Merse Officer was sent to know the de-

termination of these officers, the result of which is best given in his own words:

"I found Brigadier Mackintosh in the middle of the river Esk, endeavouring to stop above the number of three hundred of the Highlanders, who denied" [refused] "going into England;—and then delivering my commission to him, he made me this answer: 'Why the devil not go into England, where there is both meat, men, and money? Those who are deserting us are but the rascality of my men.'

"The Earl of Wintoun, upon my communicating this resolution, was pensive, and, for some time, silent. At length he thus spoke: 'It shall never be said in history to any after generations, that the Earl of Wintoun broke off from, or deserted King James's interest, and his country's good.' Then taking himself by the two ears he said 'You, or any man shall have liberty to cut these out of my head, if we do not all repent it.'"

It is quite evident from the consent given by Mackintosh, to the march into England, that if it was at the expense of his better judgment, he had at least, from the expression recorded of him, the hopes of being rewarded with booty: "Why the devil not go into England, where there is both meat, men, and money?"

The Lancashire prospect was very far, however, from inspiring general confidence in its favour. Many considered the letters promising twenty thousand men as spurious, resting this opinion upon the absurdity of the expectation. No fewer than from four to five hundred of the Highlanders, many of them of the Mackintosh clan, separated in parties over the tops of the mountains, choosing rather, as they said, to surrender themselves prisoners, than to go forward to certain destruction.

The Earl of Wintoun, having witnessed this great defection, himself withdrew, accompanied with a good part of his troop, and declaring that he saw nothing before him but RUIN.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARCH FROM LANGHOLM TO PENRITH IN CUMBERLAND.

Monday, October 31 (continued) :—From Langholm to Longtown. After it was resolved upon to march for Lancashire, the detachment which had been sent the previous evening to Ecclefechan upon the Dumfries expedition, was recalled, and advised to rejoin the main body at Longtown in Cumberland.

Also, for the sake of greater expedition in proceeding southward, certain small pieces of cannon which had been brought from Kelso to Langholm, were nailed up and rendered unfit for service.

While the army was undergoing a long and fatiguing march, with the intent to reach Longtown, it will be proper to note what the Government forces were in the mean time doing.

Early on the same day, the 31st of October, Brigadier Stanwix, Governor of Carlisle, with sixty of the Militia Cavalry, left his garrison, consisting of a very few men, to get intelligence of the numbers and movements of the Insurgents. Having reached Longtown, which is distant seven miles only from Carlisle, he was informed that they had marched the day before towards Dumfries, but that it was uncertain whether they intended to proceed thither, or to turn towards Moffat. Finding, however, that the Rebel force was proceeding in the direction of Longtown, he returned to Carlisle, taking with him, as prisoner, Mr Graham of Inchbrachy.

Late in the day, the Insurgents, after a long and toilsome march, reached Longtown. In the evening, the party, who had

been ordered to Ecclefechan, returned,—much fatigued with their expedition.

The Earl of Wintoun, likewise, made his appearance, excusing himself that it was not his fault that the five hundred Highlanders had deserted. But he was received by the chiefs with coolness, and not admitted to their councils.

Tuesday, November 1st.—From Longtown to Brampton. The rebel force marched to Brampton, where they proclaimed James the Third, and took up the public money, viz. the excise upon malt and ale. Here FORSTER opened his commission to act as GENERAL in England, which had been brought him from the Earl of Mar by Mr Douglas. And, from this time, the Highlanders were promised sixpence a day, to be punctually paid, in order to keep them in good order, and under good discipline.

In the course of the day, letters arrived from the Earl of Mar, addressed to Lord Kenmure and General Forster, dated on the 21st October from the camp at Perth.

It appeared that the Duke of Argyll was reinforced from Ireland, and had set out from Edinburgh to Stirling. Provisions had run short in Perth, and the forces from the West under General Gordon, as well as those of Lord Seaforth, had disappointed the Earl in not joining, whereby he had not been in a condition to attempt passing the Firth.

Regarding the operations of Lord Kenmure, or what his object and plans were, the Earl of Mar declared himself to be entirely ignorant. But, in the following passage of his letter to Forster, he explained his opinion in what way the Scottish force under Kenmure could be most advantageously employed. "If you be in need of Lord Kenmure's assistance in England," he remarked, "I doubt not but you have called him there; but if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I pass Forth, or now that the Duke of Argyll is reinforced, should he march towards me before I am prepared, would be of great service."

In fact, there appeared at this time to have been committed a series of blunders perfectly irremediable.

Wednesday, November 2d.—From Brampton to Penrith. The insurgents, after having halted a night at Brampton, in order to refresh the men after their hard march of one hundred miles in five days, advanced towards Penrith. They expected on their route to have been joined by friends, among whom they counted upon Mr Dacre, a Roman Catholic of Abbeylanner Coast, who had promised to raise for them forty men. But his design was frustrated by a fever which he caught, and of which he afterwards died. Upon drawing near to Penrith, they had notice that the Sheriff, with the Posse Comitatus, had got together, and that they were accompanied by the Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle.

That the Bishop of Carlisle should have bestirred himself in an attempt to oppose the farther advance of the Insurgents, was to be expected from the great movement then going on in the Church of England, under the auspices of Dr Tennyson, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, along with 13 Bishops residing in and near London, published about this date a declaration of their abhorrence of the rebellion. Accordingly, as the Insurgents, upon their arrival in England, became exposed to the powerful influence arising from this manifesto, which began to be most actively and generally circulated among all the clergy of England and their flocks, it would be inexcusable to omit giving some little account of the document.

In this declaration, the Archbishop and Bishops solemnly warned the Clergy and the People, that the chief hopes of their enemies had arisen from discontents artificially introduced among them, and that it was their duty to shew a hearty zeal for the Government in this conjuncture, and to vindicate the Church of England.

In protesting against those who, from a pretended zeal for the Church, had joined with Papists, and had attempted to set up a Popish Pretender to support the Church of England,—which attempt they denounced as an imposition upon the common sense of mankind,—they asked, Why Popery had become so innocent

of late, or why it was so indifferent, whether a Popish or a Protestant Prince was on the throne? This question was addressed to those who had not only abjured the Pretender, and his title, but who had sworn to defend King George to the utmost of their power, and to maintain the succession of the throne against the Pretender.

They remarked, that virtues were required from all persons, in correspondence with their several stations:—from the soldier, courage,—from the magistrate, authority,—and from the minister, prayers and admonitions,—severally directed to the support of His Majesty in the possession of His throne, and to the upholding of the Act of Settlement, by which the Protestant succession had been secured.

They adverted to the King as a good and gracious Prince, living in constant communion with the Church of England, and pledged to protect it by His oath and repeated royal word; while from a Popish Prince upon the throne, and from a long train of Papists in the succession, the experience of all countries had shewn that the Church of England could expect nothing but ruin and destruction.

They also made the appeal,—How the Pretender must look upon the Clergy, who, for thirty years, had joined in addresses against him,—had taken oaths against him,—and had abjured him? And what a reproach it would be to the Church of England, if her sons did not stand true to their oaths!

They therefore solemnly charged both Clergy and people to strengthen the hands of Government in this dangerous conjuncture, and, in forgetting all differences and animosities, to make this the great contention,—who should act with the truest zeal against the common enemy.

But to return to the Journal of the Insurgents.

At this precise period a manuscript narrative commences of the Rebel march from Penrith to Preston in Lancashire, which will form the Third Part of this work.

Before entering upon this document, it may be advisable to glance at the operations of the Government forces.

General Carpenter, after his long and wearisome march after the Rebels, had intelligence that the army had gone over the mountains to join Mar, which route was impracticable for his heavy horse. He therefore prepared, for want of good forage, to return to Newcastle.—[Patten's Hist., &c. p. 114.]

But, before quitting Jedburgh, he learned that the Rebels had gone from Longtown towards Brampton. Upon receiving this intelligence, his first impression was, that they had a design to surprise Newcastle, as was originally meditated by the Northumbrian force. He, therefore, on the 2d of November, crossed the moors in the direction of Ellesden, with a view to intercept the insurgents before they should arrive at their proposed destination. —For he could not otherwise explain the desultory track of the insurgents.

Nor was Argyll less actively employed in anticipating the rebel movements of the south of Scotland. He sent a detachment of dragoons and a battalion of foot to Kilsyth, also 200 dragoons to Falkirk, to prevent Lord Kenmure's force passing by the head of the Firth, if, in retiring before General Carpenter, they should endeavour to get back to the Earl of Mar.—(Oldmixon's History.)

It thus appears, that while the destination of the Rebels was suspected to be either Newcastle or Stirling, a wild expedition to Lancashire had been dreamed of by no one.

PART III.

THE MARCH OF THE INSURGENT FORCE,

IN 1715,

FROM PENRITH, IN CUMBERLAND,

TO

PRESTON IN LANCASHIRE:

BY

PETER CLARKE.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, FROM AN ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF DAVID LAING, ESQ., OF EDINBURGH,

AND EDITED,

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES,

By SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c. &c.

CONTENTS.

Penrith, ...	§ 1 to 3
From Penrith to Appleby, ...	§ 4 — 5
—— Appleby to Kendal, ...	§ 6
—— Kendal to Kirkby-Lonsdale, ...	§ 7
—— Kirkby to Lancaster, ...	§ 8 — 9
Lancaster, ...	§ 10–22
From Lancaster to Garstang and Preston, ...	§ 23–24
Preston, ...	§ 25–26

[The title which the original MS. bears is as follows:]

A JOURNALL

OF

SEVERALL OCCURRENCES

FROM

2D NOVEMBER 1715,

In the Insurrection began in Scotland,

AND

Concluded at Preston in Lancashire,

ON NOVEMBER 14. MDCCXV.

Kept by PETER CLARKE.

This Journal commences with the word "Sir;" yet the name of the Patron, or Friend to whom it is addressed, does not appear.

While the text has been most carefully preserved, it has, for greater convenience, been distributed into sections, the titles of which have, for the most part, been transferred from the margins of the original MS.

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§ 1. 2d Novr. 1715.—THE POSSE COMITATUS ON PENRITH FFELL, NUMBr. 25000.—THE POSSE COM. RUNS AWAY.

Sr

On Wednesday, the second day of November one thousand seaven hundred and fifteene, the then High Sherriff of Cumbrland assembled the Posse Com. on Penrith Ffell, Viscount Loynsdale being there as Coc̃mandr of the Malitia of Westmrland, Cumbrland, and Northumbrland, who were assembled at the place aforesd for prvenc̃ion of rebelion & riots. The Ld Bishop of Carlisle & his Daughtr were there.

By ye strictest observac̃ion the numbr were Twenty-five thousand men, but very few of them had any regular armes.

At 11 a clock in ye forenoone of the same day, the High Sherriff and ye two Lds rec̃ied a true account yt ye El of Derwentwater, togethr with his army, were within 6 miles of Penrith. Upon the recept of this newes, the sd High Sherriff & ye sd

2 L^{ds}, the Posse Com' & y^{e} malitia fled, leaving most of their armes upon the s^{d} Ffell.

There is no doubt, had these men stood their ground, y^{e} s^{d} Earl & his men (as it hath since beene acknowledged by diverse of them) wood have retreated.

This is a sorry specimen of North Country valour. Oldmixon says, that the Posse Comitatus and the Militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been gathered together by the vigilance of the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lord Viscount Lowther, and that they were three or four thousand in number, who were offered to be headed by the two noble Lords and many Half-pay officers.

The number of men actually assembled on Penrith Fell are by Clarke confidently rated at twenty-five thousand. Patten speaks of no more than fourteen thousand, but he gives a similar account of this wretched affair: "As soon as a party whom they [the Posse Comitatus] sent but for discovery, had seen some of our men coming out of a lane by the side of a wood, and drawn up upon a common, or moor, in order, and then advance, and that they had carried an account of this to their main body, they broke up their camp in the utmost confusion, shifting every one for himself as well as they could, as is generally the case of an armed, but undisciplined multitude."

The courage of the Lord Lonsdale was reflected upon, but it is defended by Patten, who even commends the young nobleman's "wise conduct to retreat and prevent the effusion of so much blood and innocent lives, which would have been of bad consequence, and no service to his Master's interest." But, with due deference to the Historian, is not this "wise conduct" in retreating, nothing more than to say, what Falstaff had said long before, that discretion is the better part of valour?

It appears, that of all the number assembled on Penrith Fell, only one man, shot through the arm, received any hurt. The rebels had orders given them not to fire unless the multitude should offer resistance, which, it is added, they were "wiser than to do."

In the Journal of the Merse Officer, which I have often quoted,

the following account is given of the affair :—" We marched from Branton in Gilsland to Piroth, in which march we dispersed the Westmoreland and Cumberland militia. We took a great many prisoners, some few arms, a great number of pitchforks, and some horses. All the prisoners we let go, who, with joyful huzzas, cryed ' God save King James, and prosper his merciful army !'"

The rebels were greatly animated by this disorderly flight.

Although Patten, late Clergyman of Annandale, had officiated as Chaplain to the Rebel force, he was not exempted, on that account, from the active duties of the field. Having been formerly Curate of Penrith, he was selected, from his knowledge of the country, to accompany a party of Horse directed to intercept the Bishop of Carlisle, while returning to his residence at Rose Castle. But the order was afterwards countermanded, in the place of which, Patten was directed by General Forster to besiege the house of Mr Johnston of Emont Bridge, who was collector of the salt-tax, and, after making him prisoner, to secure his books, papers, and what money he had belonging to the government. Mr Johnston, however, had given the party the slip.

§ 2.—E^L^ DERWENTWATER'S MEN, 1700, ENTERED PENRITH.

Ab^t^ 3 a clock in the afternoone on the same day, the s^d^ Earl, togeth^r^ with his army in numb^r^ ab^t^ one thousand and seaven hundred, entred the s^d^ towne of Penrith, where they proclamed their King by the name & title of James y^e^ 3^d^ of England & Ireland, & 8^th^ of Scotland.

In this towne they rec^d^ w^t^ excise was due to the Crowne, and gave receipts for the same.

We learn, from other information, that the Insurgents, on approaching the town, made a halt upon the adjoining moor, and drew up in order of battle. But no resistance was made.

It appears that the Bishop of Carlisle, in his extra-episcopal zeal to suppress Rebellion, had little calculated upon such a result.

"That night we came to Piroth," as an officer relates, "where we were entertained with a plentiful supper that was provided for the Bishop of Carlisle and his followers."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

In Penrith there lived a few Jacobites, who assisted the Rebels in their search after arms. They gave information where Mr John Patteson, an attorney, and Sir Christopher Musgrave of Eden Hall, had arms concealed.—By the leading men of opposite Whig politics, among whom was Mr Whelpdale, Justice of Peace, every civility was, in prudence, shewn to the Insurgents.

The Paymaster-General of the Rebel force was Mr William Tunstall, who employed a man of the name of Ossington, formerly an exciseman of England, to collect what was owing to the Government.

In Penrith there occurred an incident remarkably illustrative of the spirit of Parties at that time. "In this town," says Mr Patten, "there is a Presbyterian meeting-house, which some desired leave or encouragement from Mr Forster to pull down, or burn; but he would not condescend thereto, adding, 'That he was to gain by clemency, and not by cruelty.'"

It is evident from this anecdote, that High Church Principles, and the cry of the Church being in danger, had extended its influence from the metropolis, as far even as the hills of Cumberland.

During the time that the Insurgents halted in Penrith, they are said to have "refreshed themselves very comfortably, and to have been acquitted of the least rudeness, violence, or plunder." . . . Oldmixon says that they robbed the inhabitants of L.500. But the report has no foundation for it.

At this town Peter Clarke, the author of our narrative, followed the Rebels in their course.

§ 3.—THE PARTY SENT TO SEARCH FOR LORD LOYNSDALE.

A small party were sent to Lowthr Hall to search for Ld Loynsdale, but not finding him there (for he was gone into York-

shire) they made bold to take pvision for themselves & their horses, such as the Hall afforded. There were only at that time two old women in the s^d^ Hall, who re6ied no bodily damage.

Lowther Hall is situated about three miles from Penrith. The "wise conduct" or "discretion" of Lord Lonsdale's valour was further shewn by his leaving no more than two old women to defend his residence. That they should have received no damage from the gallant young Highlanders and English red-coats, will be easily credited.

Patten assures us that Lord Lonsdale had not fled to Yorkshire, as his enemies reported, but that "he had retired that night no farther than Appleby Castle, ten miles from the Rebel's quarters.

It was alleged, that the Rebels had committed much damage among the Statuary, Gardens, and Trees of Lowther Hall. This is denied by Patten, who affirms that the party employed to search for arms, which had been conveyed away or concealed, was under the command of Colonel Oxburgh, an old soldier, and a man whose generous temper would not allow him to do any thing so base.

§ 4.—3^d^ NOV^R^. MARCHED FOR APLEBY.

But pvision being scarce in the s^d^ towne Penrith, they marched betimes next morning for Ap'leby.—Only one man joined them in their march from Penrith to Apleby.—

[This man stole a horse ab^t^ one houre before he joined y^m^, & diserted from them y^e^ next day, and at Aug^t^ Assizes 1716 was found guilty & executed at Apleby for stealing y^e^ s^d^ horse.]

Patten states, that "in the march to Appleby, the Highlanders, who are exceeding good marksmen, shot several rabbits, and two or three deer in Whinfield Park, very well stocked with both, belonging to the Earl of Thanet."

The same author also gives the following reason why none of any account had joined them in this march: All the Papists on that side of the country were secured beforehand in the Castle of Carlisle, namely, Mr Howard of Corbee Castle, Papist; Mr Warwick of Warwick Hall, a Papist, converted to that Church some years ago; Sir James Graham of Inchbrachy, Gentleman of Scotland, who had fled his country for killing the Lord Rollo's brother; lastly, Henry Curwen, Esq. of Workington, likewise secured in the Castle of Carlisle.

The rebel force, instead of increasing, seemed even on the decrease. Mr Aynsley, who had joined them at Jedburgh, deserted them, along with sixteen Teviotdale Gentlemen, who did not like the prospect of their affairs.

Patten relates, that having lingered in setting out, the Sheriff of the County used all diligence to take him, but came a quarter of an hour too late.

§ 5.—Novr. 3d, 4th, and 5th, at ap'leby.

The gentlemen paid their quarters of [off] for w^{t} they called for in both these townes [*i.e.* Penrith and Apleby] but the Co^{6}monality paid litle or nothing. Neith^{r} was there any pson that re^{6}ied any bodily damage in eith^{r} of y^{e} s^{d} Townes. If they found any armes, they tooke them without paying the owners for them. In this towne they made the same pclama^{6}ion as they had done in the former, and re^{6}ied the excise. The weath^{r} a^{t} this time and some days before was rainy.

It may be stated, upon the authority of Patten, that the Earl of Wintoun, after the rupture with his allies on the policy of the expedition to England, experienced at Penrith, Appleby, and other places, various slights which were quite unworthy the high bearing of the chiefs. He had often no quarters provided for him, and, at other times, very bad ones, "not fit," as it is added, "for a nobleman of his family."

The account which Clarke gives of the events at Appleby, is very barren indeed. The blank is supplied by other authors.

As usual, James the Third was here proclaimed, and the public money collected.—The church was taken possession of, and Mr Patten was ordered to read prayers in case the resident Clergyman should refuse. But the Incumbent and Curate did not venture to personally officiate. They, however, gave orders that the bell should be rung, and that all things should be made ready for the service. They even did not scruple to grace the congregation with their presence, or to join in prayers for James the Third, which encouraged the Highlanders to believe, that the High Church party was entirely theirs.

While at Appleby, two companies of Invalids from Chelsea, on their route to Carlisle, passed within three miles of the Rebel force, who much regretted their ignorance of this event, on account of the arms and ammunition which they might have taken.

At Appleby, Mr Thomas Wyburgh, Captain of the Trainbands, was taken prisoner. Lord Nairn, who was a relative of Sir James Graham, then prisoner at Carlisle, made a proposal to Brigadier Stanwix, Deputy Governor of that Garrison, that Sir James should be exchanged for Mr Wyburgh. But the reply was, That the Brigadier would listen to no terms from Rebels.

The Rebels also detained, and carried off with them, Mr Stenhouse, and others suspected to be spies. They made prisoner and confined in the Mote Hall, Mr Baines, Bailiff to the Earl of Wharton, a leading and obnoxious Whig. The Bailiff was informed against for his knowledge where the Excise money had been lodged. This is the individual, probably, to whom Oldmixon alludes, as "the Magistrate whom the Rebels would have bullied out of two or three hundred pounds." "But," adds the Whig Historian, "the honest man was not intimidated, and, even when he was among them, refused to drink their villainous health, at which Forster and his companions laughed and made themselves merry."

But it is now time to inquire what the Government forces were

doing, while the Rebels had been advancing from Brampton to Appleby.

On the 2d of November we left General Carpenter, hastening by hurried marches from Jedburgh to Newcastle, conceiving that this town was intended to be occupied by the Rebels, and never once suspecting that their destination was Lancashire.

When General Carpenter, on the 4th of November, arrived at Newcastle, he ordered Hotham's Foot to come after him by way of Wooler. He here heard that the Rebels, two days before, had proceeded from Brampton to Penrith, in full march towards Lancashire. The General then resolved, for the sake of greater expedition, to follow the Rebels with the Dragoons only, not doubting, but that by the time he should come up with them, he would be reinforced by regiments of Infantry.—[Oldmixon's History, &c., p. 617.]

§ 6.—5th Novr. MARCHED TO KENDALL.

They marched out of this Towne betimes on Saturday morning, being ye 5th of Novr, in ords for Kendall. In this days march, none joyned them excepting one Mr Ffrancis Thornburrow, of Selset Hall neare Kendall. His ffathr sent one of his servt men to wait upon his son, because he was in Scarlet cloaths, and stiled Captn Thornburrow.

Abt 12 a Clock of the same day [Saturday], 6 Quarter Mrs came into the Towne of Kendall, & abt 2 Clock in the afternoone Brigadeere Mackintoss and his man came both a horseback, having both plads on, their targets hanging on their backs, either of them a sword by his side, as also eithr a gun and a case of pistols. The sd Brigadeere looked with a grim countenance. He and his man lodged at Alderman Lowrys, a private house in Highgate street in this towne.

Abt one hour after came in the horsemen, and the footmen at the latter end. It rained very hard here this day and had for sev all days before, so that the horse & ye footmen did not

draw their swords nor shew their collours, neither did any drums beat, onely six Highland bagpipes played. They marched to the Cold Stone, or the Cross, and read the same pclamaçion twice over in English, and the reader of it spoke very good English, without any mixture of Scotch tongue.

I had for abt one month in this towne lived and was clerke to Mr Crackenthorpe, Attorney at Law, and, as a spectator, I went to heare the proclamaçion read, wch I believe was in print and begun after this manner, viz: Whereas George Elector of Brunswick has usurped and taken upon him the stile of the King of these Realms; & annothr clause in it I tooke pticular notice of, wch was this, viz: Did imedietly after his said Ffathrs decease become our only and lawfull Leige. At the end of the pclamaçion they gave a great shout. A Quaker who stood next to me, not puling of his hat at the end of the sd ceremony, a Highlandr thurst a halbert at him, but it fortunately went between me & him, so that it did neither of us any damage. So they dispersed.

In this towne the Ele Derwentwater and his servts lodged at Mr Ffletchers, the signe of the White Lyon in Strickland gate. The othr Lds, at Mr Tho. Rawlandsons, who was at that time the Mayor of that towne, & kept ye signe of Kings armes in the street above named. Tho: Ffoster Esqr, then stiled Gençall Ffoster, lodged at Alderman Simpsons, a private house in the said street.

They compeled the Belman here to go & give notice to the tanners & Inkeepçrs, to come and pay what excise was due to the crown, or else they that denyed should be plundred by Jack the Highlandr. They recd of the Innkeeprs & Tanners here the sumçe of eighty pounds & some od shillings, & gave receipts to each pson.

Abt six a clock this night, the Mayor here was taken into custody for not telling where the Malitia armes were hid; (the sd Mayor was a Leiveten^t in the Malitia). But next morning Mr Crosby, the minister of this towne, went to El Derwent-

water and Tho Ffoster, & got the Mayor discharged out of custody.

Madam Belingham, who was Godmoth^{r} to Tho Ffoster and tabled in M^{r} Simpson's house, wood not admitt her said Godson to see her, and he going up staires for that intent, she met him on the staires, gave him two or three boxes on the eare, & called him a rebel and a Popish toole, w^{ch} he tooke patiently.

They made the Gunsmiths here work very hard all night, & a sunday morning likewise, for little or no pay.

In the house where I lived two Northumb^{d}land Gentl^{n}men, stiled Capt^{s}, lodged, who behaved themselves very civily.

Some malitious psons had falsly reported, that the Malitia armes were in the church, & on Sunday morning some of the Highland^{s} broke into the church in expectation of finding armes there. They also went into the vestry in the church. The plate & orniments belonging to the s^{d} church were in the vestry, but finding no armes there, returned without taking any of the plate.

In this towne the Horse Gentlemen paid their quart^{s} of, but the Ffoot Highland^{s} paid litle or nothing; and, ab^{t} 8 a Clock this morning, the foot marched out, no drums beating nor collours flying, only the bagpipers playing. Most of the Horsemen waited at M^{r} Ffosters quarters. I stood close to M^{r} Simpsons doore, and the six L^{ds}, Brigadeere Mackintosse & Tho Ffoster had their hats on when they mounted their horses, but all the oth^{r} Horsemen had their hats in their hands. The Brigadeere looked still with a grim countenance, but the L^{ds}, Ffoster, & most of the oth^{r} horsemen were dishartned & full of sorrow.

Ab^{t} 9 a clock the same morning, they marched out of the towne, but not in ranks.

A jorniman weaver joyned them here.

It is presumed, that Peter Clarke's unostentatious picture of the state of Kendal during the occupation of it by the Insurgents

is an acceptable acquisition to the history of this ill-fated expedition. In Patten's otherwise valuable narrative, Kendal is dismissed in two or three lines: "On the 5th they set out for Kendal, a town of very good trade. Here they remained all night."—[Patten's History, &c., p. 90.]

Alas! during the whole of the advance from Appleby to Kendal, three individuals only, Mr Thornburrow, his servant man, and a journeyman weaver, appeared as recruits. Well might the old Brigadier Mackintosh "look grim," and the other leaders "disheartened and full of sorrow."

The domestic anecdote related of General Forster's godmother, Madam Bellingham, has in it much naiveté.

Some little aid, is, perhaps, given, in this part of the narrative, to the light under which we may regard the author of the journal, Peter Clarke, who states that he had a month previously entered into the service, as Clerk, of Mr Crackenthorpe, an attorney of Kendal. He shews in this, as well as in other parts of his journal, that he is very often hovering about the quarters, either of Mr Forster, or of the Earl of Derwentwater. Patten records a "John Clarke" as having been an English follower or servant, to whom, it is possible, Peter, of the same name, might have been related. Can Peter Clarke's master, the Kendal Attorney, have attached him to the service of some Westmoreland Insurgent of rank, whose wealth would be placed in imminent jeopardy while taking up arms against the Government, and who, for this reason, would stand in constant need of a legal secretary, capable of conducting a correspondence with the professional guardians of his property? If I am entitled to hazard such a conjecture, the individual to whom Peter Clarke might have been engaged, was no other than Mr Forster, or the Earl of Derwentwater. But as the former was a Northumbrian, and not a Westmoreland or Cumberland landed proprietor, it is more probable that the attorney's clerk of Kendal was attached to the service of the unfortunate nobleman, who possessed valuable estates in the vicinity of this town.

§ 7.—6TH NOVR, THEY MARCHED TO KIRKBY-LOYNSDALE.

They marched this day to Kirkby-Loynsdale. The Horsemen quartered there and the Footmen went to the adjacent vilages & houses. In Kirkby-Loynsdale they made the same pclam$^{\text{ti}}$on & rec$^{\text{d}}$ what excise was due.

Esq$^{\text{r}}$ Carus & his two sons, Thomas & Christopher, all Papists, who lived at Halton Hall, joyned them at this towne.

After the detention of a day or two, the Magistrate, whom the Insurgents had brought with them prisoner from Appleby, was released.

Patten has furnished us with the following additional information of this day's march :—

"The next morning, being Sunday the 6th, they set forward to Kirkby Lonsdale, a small market town in Westmoreland. This day's march was short; so they came early to their quarter, and had time to proclaim the Pretender, and in the afternoon to go to church, where Mr Patten read prayers; the parson of the place absconding."

On this day the Chaplain was invited to dine with the Scottish Lords. The health after dinner was to King James, and success to the cause. But the usual health is stated to have been "Good success to the cause in hand!"—[Patten's Evidence on the Earl of Wintoun's State Trial.]

Mr Patten adds, that "in all the march to this town, which was the last in Westmoreland, there were none joined them but one Mr John Dalton, and another gentleman from Richmond, though they had now marched through two very populous counties. But here friends began to appear, for some Lancashire Papists with their servants came and joined them."—[Patten's History, &c., 2d Ed., p. 90.]

In the list of the leading officers in the Rebel army given by Patten, the Caruses of Halton Hall are not to be found. They were descendants of Mr Justice Carus, who, in the reign of Charles

the First, purchased the manor of Halton from the family of the Dacres.—[Baines' Lancashire, vol. iv., p. 587.]

As for Mr Dalton, Clarke states that he joined at Lancaster.

§ 8.—7TH NOVR, THEY MARCHED FOR LANCASTER.

It was this [Esqr] Carus that first brought them word, that the Towne of Lancr had left of making any pȓparions for a defence, so they marched for Lancr next morning.

The reason why these preparations had been abandoned was because the Inhabitants had conceived, that the Rebels were marching towards Newcastle, instead of Lancashire.

At Kendal we left the officers dispirited, and Brigadier Mackintosh looking "very grim;" but, in the march to Lancaster, the cloud of sorrow which hung over the Rebel army was dispelled, and a brighter prospect was opened out to the depressed party.

According to Patten, while the soldiers were drawn up on a hill, and were lying upon their arms, in order that the whole might be rested, the brother of Lord Widdrington, Mr Charles Widdrington, who, some days before, had been dispatched to Lancashire to acquaint the gentlemen of the county with the marching of the Rebels that way, made his appearance. He returned with intelligence of the cheerfulness and intention of the Lancashire gentlemen to join them with all their interest, and that James the Third was that day proclaimed at Manchester, where the Town's people had got arms to furnish a troop of fifty men at their sole charge, besides other volunteers. "This," adds the narrator, "roused the spirits of the Highlanders, and animated them exceedingly; nor was it more than needed, for they had often complained before, that all the pretences of numbers to join were come to little, and that they should soon be surrounded by numerous forces. But on this news they plucked up their hearts, gave three huzzas, and then continued their march into Lancaster."—[Patten's History, &c., 2d Ed. p. 91.]

But notwithstanding this scanty instalment of the Manchester promise of twenty thousand fighting men, had now dwindled to fifty only, it is to be feared that even this number was overrated. With the exception of two prisoners released from Lancaster Castle, who will be shortly noticed, the name of only one High Church Tory who had actually enlisted from the town of Manchester, transpires. "Charles Beswicke of Manchester was one of the sixteen children of Charles Beswicke of Manchester, Gent. and Grandson of the Rev. Charles Beswicke, M.A., Rector of Radcliffe, descended from an ancient family memorable in the annals of Manchester. This young man was born in 1693, and was educated in the Grammar School of Manchester. Having, like many of his cotemporaries, been brought up in Non-juring principles, he rendered himself obnoxious to the Hanoverian adherents by his activity and zeal."—[From a MS. history of the Beswicke Family of Pike House, in the Parish of Rochdale.]

At what part of the route Mr Beswicke joined the Insurgents I am not informed.

§ 9.—NOV^{R} 7TH.—THEY CALL AT HORNBY CASTLE.

And as they came by Hornby Castle, whose owner is Ffrancis Chartis, they made bold to call to see if he was there; but not finding him there, they took pvisions for themselves & their horses.

Hornby Castle is remarkable for the many illustrious owners which it possessed in succession. At the close of the 16th century, it was in the hands of the family of Monteagle, from whom it passed by marriage to that of Morley. From this time, its ownership is only to be traced through mortgagees, until, by deed dated Oct. 30th, 1713, George Brudenell, Earl of Cardigan, sold the castle and honor of Hornby, with its dependencies, for L.14,500 to Colonel Francis Charteris, of infamous memory.—[Baines' Lancashire, Vol. iv., p. 599.]

Patten has furnished us with details regarding the visit to Hornby Castle. It was a generous consideration of the officers, that if THE SCOTS had been allowed to pay their vile countryman's house a visit, they would not have scrupled to set it on fire. For this reason, Colonel Oxburgh, an old officer of nice honour and gentlemanly feelings, was detached with an ENGLISH party to obtain provisions. The party behaved with great moderation, making free with nothing more than a few bottles of wine and some strong beer, and a little provender for their horses. Yet the mean proprietor, incapable of common hospitality, but who was quite capable of any mean extortion, eventually brought in a bill, tavern-like, against the party for L.3, 6s. 8d., being the entertainment afforded by Hornby Castle "for man and horse." For this sum the Colonel gave his note of hand, to be made payable when his Master's concerns should be settled.

§ 10.—NOV^R 7^TH THEY FIND THE PAVEMENT OF LANCAS^TR BRIDGE TAKEN OFF.

It was about 1 a Clock in the afternoone on Monday, when they came into Lancaster, where they found that the inhabitants of that towne had taken of the pavement of the bridge & the side of the North arch of Lanc^r brige. This towne wood have oposed the E^l Derwentwater & his men, and, for that purpose, the inhabitants intended to fetch the 6 Guns belonging to the M^rchants there, which were at Sund^rland in a ship called the Robert, if S^r Henry Houghton, Colonel of the Malitia, & who was at Preston with his men, had come to Lanc^r.

As I have explained, the Whig inhabitants of Lancaster were taken by surprise, when they heard that the destination of the rebels was changed from Newcastle, or elsewhere, to Lancashire. They had, therefore, little time to remove every thing out of the way which might be of service to the insurgents.

Sir Henry Houghton, a great friend to the Hanoverian succes-

sion, and member of Parliament for Preston, took the lead in these defensive operations.

In the river which runs by Lancaster, at a distance of five miles, there lay a ship of about 500 tons burthen, belonging to a Mr Heysham of London, and a wealthy Quaker of Lancaster, Mr Lawson. There were on board six pieces of cannon, some blunderbusses, and small arms. The attempt to negotiate for the use of the cannon was unsuccessful, except on condition that Sir Henry would give Mr Lawson a bond of ten thousand pounds to ensure the ship against any damages she might sustain from the rebels, when they should hear that he had parted with the cannon to be used against them. Upon Sir Henry's refusal to acquiesce on these conditions, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council met, and, by virtue of a warrant issued by Sir Henry Houghton, Charles Rigby, and Francis Charteris, Esquires, who were in the commission of the peace, the cargo and arms on board the vessel were seized, until Lawson should give his acquiescence to the surrender; which he did accordingly.

When this occurrence happened, Sir Henry Houghton was in hourly expectation of some dragoons, stationed in Preston, marching to the relief of Lancaster; but, as they refused to go without orders from Government, which they had not then received, Sir Henry had no other alternative left him, in the absence of this aid, than to himself retreat to Preston with 600 of the Militia whom he had collected. But before leaving, as he found that the six pieces of cannon would be of no use to him without a sufficient number of men to cover the town, he ordered Mr Lawson to fall down the river with his vessel, and the cannon contained in it, out of the reach of the rebels;—a request with which the immoveable Quaker did not comply.

And now, a few words regarding Lancaster Bridge, mentioned in Clarke's narrative.

Colonel Charteris and another officer, then in the town, would have blown up the bridge to prevent the rebels from entering, but the inhabitants, alive to this useless expenditure, reminded these clever engineers, that the river at low water was quite passable

both for foot and horse. It appears, however, from Clarke, that the work of demolition had commenced by the pavement having been taken off on the north side of the Bridge.

§ 11.—NOV^{R} 7. THEY COME INTO THE TOWNE OF LANCASTER.

They came into this towne with swords drawn, drums beating, & collours flying & in their ranks, with the bagpipes also playing. They went streight to the market place, and made the same pclamac^{o}on as before.

After this, one Christopher Hopkins, a station^{r}, was, by the ord^{r} of Tho Ffost^{r}, taken into custody & put prison^{r} on the guard, for taking account of the numb^{r} of them.

In the state trial of Lord Wintoun it is said, that the rebel troops marched more regularly into Lancaster than in any other place, and that Lord Wintoun was at the head of his horse with a trumpet sounding before him. The Gentlemen came on horseback, their swords were unsheathed, and the Highlanders were drawn round the cross when the Pretender was proclaimed. The men were afterwards billeted and quartered in every part of the town.

§ 12.—THE ESQ^{RS} WHO JOYNED THEM AT LANCASTER.

The following Esq^{rs}, who lived some few miles from the towne, joyned them here, viz.:

Hodgson of Leighton Hall;
John Dalton of Thurnham Hall;
John Tyldesley of the Lodge;
—— Butler of Racliffe;
—— Hilton, who lived near Cartmell.

All these attended with their serv^{t} men joyned them, as above, s^{d} and were stiled Capt^{s}.

Onely two inhabitants of this town, who were Papists, joyned them, to witt, Edmund Gartside, a Barber, and the oth^rman, whose name I have forgot, was a joyner. These last two men were stiled Quartermasters.

The circumstance that few except Papists had hitherto joined the Rebel force, gave the greatest possible disturbance to the religious prejudices of the Scottish Presbyterians. It was constantly asked, Where was the High Church support promised to them in Lancashire ?

A Lancashire man, for the credit of his county, would gladly withhold the explanation given, if the cause of History did not revolt at any suppression of Truth. Mr Patten's explanation, certainly high drawn, is as follows :—

" While we were in this town [Lancaster] our number encreased considerably. . . . For in that time a great many Lancashire Gentlemen joined us, with their servants and friends. It is true they were most of them Papists, which made the Scots gentlemen and the Highlanders mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the cause; for they expected all the High Church party to have joined them. Indeed, that party, who never are right hearty for the cause, till they are mellow, as they call it, over a bottle or two, began now to shew us their blind side."

The Roman Catholics, also, were no less indignant at the failure of High Church support.

The names of the Gentlemen recorded by Clarke belong to ancient families in Lancashire :

Albert Hodgson, Esq., of Leighton Hall, in Warton Parish, had married the elder of two co-heiresses of George Middleton Oldfield, Esq., who had, for her portion, Leighton.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iv., p. 581.]

John Dalton of Thurnham and Park Hall, Esq., was the eldest son of Elizabeth, ultimately sole heiress of the manor of Thurnham, who had married William Hoghton of Park Hall, Esq. He assumed the name of Dalton about five years before the Rebellion broke out.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iv. p. 543.]

Edward Tyldesley of the Lodge was descended from an ancient Lancashire family who flourished in the reign of Henry the Third. His ancestor, in the year 1675, sold the family estate in Tyldesley.

Henry Butler of Rawcliffe in the Amounderess Hundred, the representative of one of the oldest Roman Catholic families in Lancashire, had for his ancestor Sir Richard Butler, to whom Theobald Walter, the Butler of Ireland, originally gave the whole land of Hout Rawcliffe, &c. Henry had been thrice married, and, by these alliances, his family connections were strengthened. Although he had deeply involved himself in the rebellion, it was his oldest son, and heir, Richard Butler, who actually appeared in arms.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 450.]

—— Hilton, who lived near Cartmell.—I cannot help suspecting some mistake; and that by this name, WALTON was meant. There was a very ancient family of this name which lived at Walton Hall, in the Lonsdale Hundred; and in the list of Lancashire Catholics, given by Patten, Thomas Walton of Winder is mentioned. [See Baines's Lancashire, vol. iv. p. 733, and Patten, p. 148.]

§ 13.—THE PRISONERS ON THE CROWN SIDE IN LANCASTER CASTLE SET AT LIBERTY.

In this towne in the evening, they rec^{d} from the Inkeep^{rs} what excise was due, but it did not amount but to a very litle. Also this night a great consultac^{o}on was held here, wheth^{r} or no the prisoners in this castle shood be set at liberty. And, at first, it was unanimously agreed that the debtors as well as those upon the crown side shood all be released from their imprisonment. But, upon a second consid^{r}ac^{o}on, that onely those upon the crown side shood be set at liberty, w^{ch} accordingly was done.

Amongst those released were the Colonel and Cap^{t} of the mob of Manchester, whose names I have forgot.

These two men were at Lancaster, at the Aug^{t} Assizes before, found guilty of rioting at Manchester, and sentenced to stand in the Pilory at Lancaster, which accordingly they did ; also they were to continue in Lancaster castle for some years. I was at Lancaster and saw them stand in the pilory there, which was upon a Saturday, being the market day there, ab^{t} a week after the said asizes. But no pson was allowed to fling any thing at them.

The s^{d} Colonel and Cap^{t} joyned and listed themselves with the s^{d} E^{l} Derwentwater. They still kept their former titles.

Clarke here alludes to "the famous Tom Siddall, the mob Captain," as he was usually named, who headed a Sacheverell riot at Manchester when the meeting-house was pulled down. With the name of "the Colonel" of the same mob I am unacquainted.

Patten, the Chaplain of the Rebel force, gives a very different version of the release of the prisoners, which he attributes to his own agency. His account is as follows: "All or most of the prisoners, who were a considerable number, got upon the leads of the castle, and, seeing us advance, gave loud huzzas. I went to view that ancient place so famous in history, where the prisoners desired me to represent their case to Mr Forster, which I did; but was told by him, That they should have HIS MASTER'S pardon speedily. And, in the mean time, ordered Syddal, and another prisoner for treasonable words, to be discharged."

Clarke, however, states that the release of the Crown prisoners, among whom was Siddall, resulted from a general consultation of the officers;—which statement is the more probable one of the two.

§ 14.—THE SEARCH FOR ARMES AT LANCASTER.

This night 6 Highland^{s}, who were apointed searchers for armes, by threats compeled Mr Parkinson, the then mayor of this towne, to go along with them from house to house to search for armes. At ev^{r}y house they demanded armes, w^{ch}, if the

owner of them did not deliv^{r}, Jack the Highland^{r} was to plund^{r} him. They got very few small armes here, but those as they took they did not pay for.

During their continuance in this towne, the gunsmiths here were well employed in cleaning guns and pistols, and rec^{d} pay for their worke. Some small armes were taken from the minister of this towne, whose name is James Ffenton.

The shopkeep^{s} here had litle or no gunpowder, only one whose name is Samuel Saterthwaite, and he thought it pperer [properer] to bestow a barrel of gunpowd^{r} in the towne well, raith^{r} than sell it.

The gunpowder which was thrown into a well in the market place had been by the advice of Colonel Charteris and his military friend. Why did they not use it themselves against the enemy? In good sooth, Falstaff's discretion, after the dispersion of the Posse Comitatus on Penrith Fell, had begun to prevail among the military councils of Lancaster.

Some new arms lodged in the Custom House are said to have been seized.—[Patten's Hist. &c., p. 92 and 95.]

§ 15.—NOV^{R}. 8TH. REWARD OFFERED FOR A GOVERNMENT SPY.

Next morning, w^{ch} was on Tuesday the 8th, by the ord^{r} of the s^{d} Tho Ffoster, a pclama$\acute{c}$ion was issued, in which a reward of Thirty pounds [was offered] for any pson who could take Ralph Ffairbroth^{r}, in Julia S^{t} of this towne, who was gone, post haste, with Chr Hopkins account of the numb^{r} of y^{e} s^{d} E^{l} Derwentwaters men to Gen^{r}all Carpenter, at Newcastle.

§ 16.—NOV^{R}. 8TH. THEY EXAMINE THE BOOKS OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

Also this day Comisson^{r}s were apointed to examine the books belonging to the Custom house here, but found nothing due to the crown, only a part of a large quantity of brandy, which

the Custom house offic^{rs} had some days before seized, being run from the Isle of Man. The s^{d} offic^{rs} had made use of a small part of it, and the new Comisson^{rs} took possession of the remaind^{r} part, of which they drank in this towne, and the rest they carryed away in a cart towards Garstang, but they made an end of it before they came to that towne.

Patten adds that, "besides a good quantity of Brandy which was all given to the Highlanders to oblige them," some Claret was added to the booty.

It has been before stated, that they took up all the money belonging to the revenue which was in the Excise office.

§ 17.—THEY BRING UP THE 6 SHIP GUNS FROM SUND^{R}LAND.

Also at Lancast^{r}, on the s^{d} 8th day, a detachment were sent to Sund^{r}land to bring up the s^{d} 6 ship guns, which accordingly they did.

The history of the six ship guns on board Mr Lawson's vessel lying at Sunderland, five miles from Lancaster, has been before related (See § 10). The Rebels had information of them communicated by a gentleman of influence.

It is related, that the six pieces of cannon, thus seized, were mounted upon new carriages, the wheels of which had belonged to Sir Henry Houghton's coaches. These they carried with them.

§ 18.—NOV^{R}. 8TH, MR PAUL READS PRAYERS IN LANCASTER CHURCH.

At 10 a clock this morning, by the ord^{r} of M^{r} Paul, a minist^{r} of the Church of England, and who had joyned with the s^{d} E^{l} Derwentwater, a little bell hanging on the east end of Lanc^{r} church was ringed to warne people to come to pray^{rs}, and, while the s^{d} bell was a ringing, M^{r} Paul tooke the Com^{o}n pray^{r} booke, which y^{e} minist^{r} of Lanc^{r} com^{o}nly made use of,

and in the pray^{r} for the Queen, M^{r} Paul razed out the name Queen Anne, and writ King James, and, [in] the pray^{r} for the Royall Ffamily, he razed out the name of the Princess Sophia and writ the Kings Moth^{r}. The said words are writ with such a nicety that many takes them to have been printed.

Abundance of psons went this day to this church, and the s^{d} M^{r} Paul read the usuall pray^{r}s, only, instead of praying for King George, prayed for his new mast^{r} by the name of King James, and, instead of George Prince of Wales, he prayed thus: To bless the Kings Moth^{r} and all the Royall Ffamily. [The minister of Lancaster does not make use of that book now, but has laid it by in the vestry.]

Before Mr Paul was permitted to read prayers, the Vicar of Lancaster, supposed to be friendly to the Jacobite cause, was requested to officiate. But he was a time-serving priest. "It seems," said Mr Patten, who knew him well, "that he was not so averse to it, any more than some of his brethren; but he wanted to see how the scales would turn before he would think of venturing so far." —[Patten's Hist. &c., 2d ed., p. 96.]

Clarke was incorrect in attributing the ingenious alteration in the Common Prayer Book to Mr Paul. Patten, as Chaplain of the Rebel force, who, ex officio, was likely to know more of church secrets, has thus explained the matter: "There was one Mr Guin, who went into the churches in their way, and scratched out His Majesty King George's name, and placed the Pretender's so nicely, that it resembled print very much, and the alteration could scarce be perceived."—[Patten's Hist. &c., p. 90.]

A copious account of the parentage and life of Mr Paul is given by the same author:—William Paul, Clerk, was the son of a respectable Freeholder, living at Little Ashby, near Lutterworth. He was sent at 19 years of age to Rugby school, and was admitted as Sizer, and afterwards as Scholar, in St John's College, Cambridge. After taking holy orders, he became curate of a village near Harborough, and Chaplain to Sir Geoffry Palmer. For some time he was Usher and Curate of the Free School at Tam-

worth, and subsequently was Curate at Nun Eaton in Staffordshire. Lastly, he was presented in 1709 to the vicarage of Horton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, but was required to qualify himself for the preferment by taking the usual oaths to Queen Anne, and by abjuring the Pretender. Six years afterwards, however, he embraced High Church Tory, or rather Nonjuring principles, and, along with Mr Gascoigne, Mr Cotton, and some other Jacobites, went down to meet the Rebels in Preston. His conduct excited suspicion, and he was taken before Colonel Noel, a justice of the Peace, but having been released, he set out to join the Rebels at Lancaster.

On the very day when the Rev. William Paul was introduced to Lancaster, the oldest Chaplain of the force, the Rev. Mr Buxton, unwearied in his devotion to the Jacobite cause, was sent off with letters to some gentlemen of Derbyshire. On arriving at his own county (Derbyshire), he fell ill of the small-pox, and the disastrous affair of Preston immediately following, he remained for a long time in concealment.

The Rev. William Paul's introduction to the Rebel General is thus related: "Mr Forster was at dinner, in company with Mr Patten, at the Recorder of Lancaster's house, when Mr Paul boldly entered the room, habited in a blue coat with a long wig and sword, accompanied by Mr John Cotton of Cambridgeshire. After having announced their names, professions, &c., they, in a flourishing manner, made a tender of their services for the cause, which were accepted. These gentlemen then begged a private conference with Mr Forster, when they gave him a complete account of General Carpenter's movements, stating that he was then at Bernard-Castle, his men and horses having been sore fatigued."

§ 19.—THE GENTLEMEN SOLDIERS DRINK TEA WITH THE LAYDYS OF LANCASTER.

This afternoone, the Gentlemen soldiers dressed and trimed themselves up in their best cloathes, for to drink a dish of

tea with the Laydys of this towne. The Laydys also here apeared in their best riging, and had their tea tables richly furnished for to entertain their new suitors.

§ 20.—A NEW POST MASTR. APOINTED.

This afternoone a new Post Mastr was apointed, and, when ye post came in, the new post mastr seized the bag of leters, and, amongst them, found a bill wch the Genrall postmaster had ordd the post mastr of this towne to pay, which was fifty pounds. The new Post Master * * * * * * * * *

The remaining part of the sentence is cut away by that frequent enemy to manuscript volumes, and ancient literature in general, —the Bookbinder.

§ 21.—DISCOURSE ABT RELIGION.

This evening a discourse abt religion hapned between the Ministr of this towne and two Romish priests.

§ 22.—THE PARTING.

During the continuance of the Ele Derwentwaters men in this towne, no inhabt recd any bodily damage. The gentlemen paid of their comcons here, but very sorrowfull to part with their new Loves. The comconalty paid little or nothing here.

A Quaker, in speaking of the conduct of the Rebel forces at Lancaster, remarks: "It was a time of tryall, and in fear that the Scotts and Northern rebells would have plundered us, but they were civill, and to most paid for what they had; but I had

five of the Mackintosh officers quartered on me two days, but took nothing of them."—[MS. Journal of William Stout.]

Regarding the accession of numbers which the Insurgent force is stated to have received at Lancaster, one account says, "Here several persons deserted us, as likewise several joined us."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

Some remarks may now be made on the policy of quitting a town where the Jacobite army had been received, especially by the fair sex, with a more than common degree of favour, and even of affection.

If the question of a Jacobite expedition to Lancashire admit of defence on the score of policy, Lancaster ought decidedly to have been made the strong hold of the Rebel force. This is the opinion of Patten: "While we were in this town," he observes, "our number increased considerably; and had we staid here, or kept a garrison here, they would have continued so to do." And again, in another part of his book, he remarks: "Lancaster is a town of very good trade, and which, had they thought fit to have held it, might easily have been made strong enough to have made a stand for them; and having an old castle for their arms, stores, and provisions, and a sea-port to have received succours, it might have been very useful to them; but our infatuations were not yet over."—Patten's Hist. &c. pp. 90 and 99.

In fact, the propriety of the Insurgents entrenching themselves in Lancaster, never appears to have been urged as a question. It was proposed to take the road to Preston, and thereby, 1*st*, to gain possession of Warrington Bridge, and, in the next place, of Manchester, where they appeared confident of being joined by numbers of the High Church Tories, of which this town was reputed to be the chief seat. By securing Warrington Bridge it was supposed that the rich town of Liverpool would be cut off from any relief, and would be secured to them, and that thus the surrounding country would flock to their standard.

But Liverpool happened to be a town where Whig principles had long prevailed. By the aid of the seamen of this sea-port,

seventy pieces of cannon had been planted at the most convenient sites; part of the avenues had been laid under water; and in places which the water could not reach, a line of defence had been thrown up.

At this time, Stanhope's regiment of Dragoons was quartered at Preston. Upon advice that the Rebels were bending their march thither, the Commander at once perceived that he had no better support than part of Sir Henry Houghton's regiment of Militia, and therefore quitted Preston. This retreat gave exceeding encouragement to the Insurgents, who imagined that the Government forces were afraid of looking them in the face.—[Oldmixon's History of England, 2d vol. fo.]

§ 23.—9TH NOV., THE FFOOT MARCH TO GARSTANG AND HORSE TO PRESTON.

Next morning, being Wednesday 9th, both Horse and Footmen marchd out of this towne, carrying along with them the sd six ship guns & some of the brandy, and their prisoner Chr Hopkins. Him they tooke abt two miles, & so dismissed him. The Horse came to Preston this night, but the Ffoot lodged at Garstang, & othr country houses. One Mr Monkcaster, a Protestant, who was Attorney at Law, who lived in Garstang, joyned them there. Sevl all poore Papists joyned them also here. Here also they recd what excise was due.

This was an unpleasant march, the day proving rainy and the ways deep.

It seemed as refreshing to the Scottish Presbyterians as to the slender Northumbrian High Church party, to be joined even by one Lancashire Protestant of influence. The enlisting of Mr Muncaster was accordingly esteemed no little acquisition. As might be expected, he was an enthusiastic Tory. In private life, and for his professional abilities, he was much esteemed.

It is stated by Clarke, that while the infantry belonging to the Insurgents were lodged at Garstang, the Cavalry proceeded the same day to Preston.

Upon the arrival of the Horse at Preston, the Reverend Samuel Peploe, Curate of the Parish Church, happened to be employed in his clerical duties, when he was so fearless as to read, with more than common zeal, the prayers for the Brunswick family. It is easy to imagine, that after this daring experiment, the Church would be promptly devoted to the cause of the Jacobite Soldiers. Mr Paul, the new chaplain, who had joined at Lancaster, importuned Mr Patten to read prayers, which was conceded to him, although unwillingly, because he was in a lay dress;—he wore, in fact, a blue coat with a long wig and a sword.—[Patten's History, p. 98.]

§ 24.—NOV^{R}. 10TH, THE FFOOT COME INTO PRESTON, AND MANY PAPISTS JOYN THEM HERE.

Next day came also the Footmen into Preston where the same pclamac^{o}on was made here as in former towns. They also rec^{d} w^{t} excise was due here.

Esq^{r} Townley, a Papist, joyned them here, and M^{r} Shuttleworth, who lived in Preston, as also did abundance of Roman Catholics.

Patten agrees with Clarke regarding the accession of strength which the Insurgent force received from the Roman Catholics: "The foot coming up the next day, being Thursday the 10th of November, they marched straight to the Cross, and were there drawn up, as usual, while the Pretender was proclaimed. Here they were also joined by a great many Gentlemen, with their tenants, servants, and attendants, and some of very good figure in the country; but still all Papists."

As the Scottish soldiers and English recruits were, in Preston, much mixed, they were nationally distinguished from each other after the following manner: while the Scots used blue and white cockades, the English wore red and white ones.

No complete list has ever yet appeared of the Lancashire gentry

who were engaged in the movement of 1715. The fullest catalogue of them is given in Patten's history; but here there is also a great deficiency. In fact, the author, a Northumbrian, paid more attention to the families of his own county. Even from the scanty notes of Peter Clarke, additions to the Lancashire list have been afforded, which do not elsewhere appear. As we, therefore, now approach towards the catastrophe of the Insurrection, and as Lancashire history is our chief object, some few other leading names may be noticed; for we may presume that the whole of the recruits from the county were present at Preston.

Richard Townley of Townley, Esquire, a connection of Lord Widdrington, came attended with his servants, who enlisted along with their master. He was, perhaps, of the most ancient family in Lancashire. While Dr Whitaker is content with saying that his ancestry extended itself into the Norman ages, other genealogical inquirers have assigned to it a date even preceding that of the Conquest.—[See Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 253.] A representative of this family had suffered during the reign of Elizabeth for adhering to the religion of his forefathers; and, as the persecutions of this period never appear to have been forgotten among the descendants of the old families of Lancashire, it may be easily supposed, that the Townleys would continue faithfully attached to the fortunes of a Royal house, whose religion had been the powerful cause of their having been expelled from the throne.

The Mr Shuttleworth mentioned by Clarke, belonged to the very ancient family of Shuttleworth Hall, a branch of which had settled in Gawthorpe, as early as the reign of Richard II.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 267.]

Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock. Sir Francis was the representative of a branch of the Andertons of Euxton and Clayton, who, by intermarriages, date their greatest importance in the county from the time of Henry the VIII. The Andertons of Lostock, near Bolton, rigid Roman Catholics, were created Baronets by Charles II.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 452.]

Richard Chorley of Chorley, Esquire, a Roman Catholic, and

his son, Charles Chorley, were descended from a family named De Chorlegh, to the antiquity of which it is difficult to assign a date. They originally held the manor of Chorley of the chief Lords of the Fee.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii. p. 414, et seq.]

Gabriel Hesketh of Whitehall, near St Michaels-le-Wyre, and Cuthbert Hesketh, his son, both Roman Catholics. This is a very ancient name in Lancashire, but I am unable to identify these two individuals with any of the Hesketh families.

John Leyburne, said to be of Natsby.—The Labornes or Leyburnes, were, of old, Roman Catholics, one of whom, a recusant, had, in the reign of Elizabeth, been imprisoned in the New Fleet, Manchester, and, in 1583, had been executed at Lancaster, his head having been exposed on the steeple of Manchester Church. No wonder that the family should have long remained uncompromising and firm in their religious tenets.

Ralph Standish of Standish, whose progenitor, in the reign of Edward the First, held the manor of Standish of the Earl Ferrars. —The family, during the great rebellion, had bled for the Stuarts. Ralph Standish married the Lady Phillipa Howard, daughter of Henry Duke of Norfolk, the issue of which marriage was Cecilia, sole heiress of the Standish family, who married William Townley of Townley, Esquire. As both his Howard and Townley connections took part in the Rebellion of 1715, these alliances operated as an increased motive for his joining in the Jacobite movement.—[Baines's Lancashire, vol. iii., p. 504.]

Among those who joined at Preston, not belonging to Lancashire, was Richard Gascoigne, Esq., an Irish Catholic, whose family had bled for Charles the First in the Civil wars, and for James the Second at the siege of Limerick. His manners were particularly elegant and engaging, which had thrown him into fashionable company at Bath, where, in cards and dice, he had lost much of his patrimony. Into the politics of his ancestry, he had deeply entered, and had hastened to join the adherents of James the Third at Preston.—[Patten, p. 150.]

This list of the names of the leading gentry who rallied under

the Jacobite standard at Preston might, no doubt, have been much enlarged.

The total amount of the force, thus augmented by the exertions of the old Roman Catholic families, has been estimated at a number exceeding 4000 men.—[Rae's History, &c., p. 324.]

These are all the explanatory remarks suggested by Clarke's brief observation, that the force at Preston was joined by abundance of Roman Catholics.—Let us, therefore, now advert to events of the utmost consequence. From a quarter, not previously contemplated by the Insurgents, a storm was gathering, which, in the end, proved fatal to the Expedition into Lancashire.

ACTIVITY OF THE GOVERNMENT FORCES AT THIS TIME.

The greatest exertions were resolved upon at this time by the Whig Ministry of George the First to suppress at once the Rebellion in England. Their councils were assisted by the matchless experience of the Great Duke of Marlborough, who himself planned the general movement of the Troops. They were intended to advance from two quarters, namely, from the North and the West, upon the Rebel forces in Lancashire.

Oldmixon, of all Historians of the time of George the First, has perhaps best explained the operations of the Government troops. It is therefore chiefly on his authority, aided by the occasional remarks of Rae, Patten, and some few other authors, that I shall relate such details of "PRESTON FIGHT," as appear among the notes attached to the subsequent portion of Peter Clarke's narrative.

General Carpenter, who had been mistaken in the route which the Rebels had eventually taken, was in the garrison of Newcastle at the time when he ought to have advanced towards Carlisle. Subsequently, he set out for Lancashire. The latest tidings heard of him were, that he had arrived at Bernard Castle.

As it was to Carpenter's movements exclusively that the attention of the Insurgents had hitherto been directed, they appeared indifferent to the newer circumstance, that an equally formidable

force was preparing against them from an unforeseen quarter in the West.

General Wills had been placed over the garrison of Chester. There had been assigned to his command, Pitt's regiment of Horse, Wynn's, Honeywood's, Dormer's, Newton's, and Stanhope's Dragoons, and Sabines's, Preston's, and Fane's Foot. These regiments, which had been dispersed in various neighbouring cantonments, were severally ordered to draw towards Warrington, to be ready, in the first instance, to dispute the important passage over the Mersey, as well as to be prepared against any further movements of the Insurgents, in case they should advance towards Manchester or Liverpool. But, at the same time, they had the general policy impressed upon them by the Great Captain of the age, which was, to give the Rebels no respite of time whatever, either to gather strength, or to fortify themselves in any inland or seaport town.

Wills acted upon these general instructions, the execution of which, as far as the marches were concerned, having undergone no farther alteration than was dictated by the motions of the enemy. He directed the forces which had arrived under his command to advance towards Wigan. Newton's Foot, then on their march from Worcester, was excepted from this order.—For, on the 8th of November, Wills passed through Manchester, where he found that in this populous town a regiment would be required to prevent any rising—which, in fact, had been constantly held in menace against the Government,—of the High Church Tories, who had so recently distinguished themselves during the course of the Sacheverell riots.

When Wills was at Manchester he received intelligence, that General Carpenter had, on the 7th instant, marched from Durham towards Lancaster. He thereafter despatched an express to that officer, acquainting him with his own motions, in order that they might be better prepared to act in concert.

Before setting out however, to commence an immediate attack on the Rebels, he secured several influential, or enthusiastic Jacobites, and ordered others to be disarmed. He also recommended

the Earl of Cholmondeley, then Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire, to send the militia of Chester to Warrington and Manchester, while he, with his regular forces, would undertake about the 10th or 11th instant to advance towards Preston.

After these military movements had been decided upon, Pitt's Horse and Stanhope's Dragoons arrived, on the 10th instant, at Wigan, where they were quartered, while other remaining regiments were fast collecting, in order to commence the attack, which was immediately expected to take place.

After this explanation of the activity of the Government troops, we may now inquire how the Insurgents were, in the mean time, employing themselves, or whether they were making any exertions to face the storm ?

THE INACTIVITY OF THE INSURGENT FORCES, WHILE AT PRESTON.

That a perfect inertness subsisted among the Insurgents while they were garrisoned at Preston, is one of the most remarkable of all the incidents which occurred during the course of this memorable campaign.

Patten, who was Chaplain to General Forster and in his entire confidence, gives the following explanation of the matter :—His patron, he states, " depended upon the assurances of the Lancashire Gentlemen, that no force could come near them" [the Insurgents] " by forty miles, but they could inform him thereof." In adding, therefore, that Forster was misled by the assurances of the Lancashire gentlemen " that he had nothing to fear," he suppressed (it is to be feared not with the fairest of intentions) an important fact, which, in only one written statement of the Insurgent march, has been commemorated, namely, in that which is entitled to every degree of confidence,—as " the true and just relation of the occurrences in the way to, and at Preston, by a gentleman, who was an eye-witness to the said transactions." This is the valuable journal of the Merse Officer to which I have often alluded :

" Upon Wednesday the 9th of November," says this writer,

"the Horse came into Prestoun, and the foot the next day. There we received certain notice of General Wills's being in Wigan, twelve miles distant from us, with two regiments of dragoons, who lay night and day at their horse heads, in order to fly if we should march towards Manchester or Chester. Though we had an opportunity of cutting off the enemy, yet General Forster would not allow us, nor suffer us to march towards Manchester."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

Upon the veracity of this assertion no reasonable doubt whatever can be placed. It is given upon the authority of a Jacobite officer, who, as he professes, "had the honour to serve His King and Country under the command of the Honourable James Hume."

If this testimony be admitted, the assertion of Patten, that General Forster was misled by the Lancashire Gentlemen as to the very short distance from which the enemy was prepared to advance,—cannot but be regarded as an excuse, at the expense of Truth, for culpable inactivity.

Neither has the following observation, equally calculated to mislead, a different object in view: "It has been a question," continues the same writer, "often asked, and which very few could answer, 'How they' [the Rebel army] 'came to be so utterly void of intelligence at that time, as to be so ignorant of the march of the King's forces, and to know nothing of them, until they were within sight of Preston, and ready almost to fall upon them?"

The brief reply to be made is—that the attempt of Forster's Chaplain to remove the blame to the Lancashire Gentlemen, was a most discreditable one; and that from the earliest moment when his patron entered Preston, he was officially warned, that two regiments of General Wills were not then distant more than twelve miles from the Rebel Head-Quarters, namely, at Wigan.

To what cause, then, could this gross neglect have been attributable?

Was Treachery at work? There are a thousand reasons why

such a supposition should be at once dismissed, independently of the fact, that not the smallest charge has ever been made by the most bitter censors of the unfortunate General's conduct, except on the score of his gross military incapacity.

It must be also recollected, that Forster was not the only inactive officer at Preston. The whole insurgent army seem to have inhaled one common atmosphere of ease and indolence.

It thus becomes a remaining question—What Forster and the officers under him could possibly have been about, so long as they remained in Preston?

Patten certainly admits that they were at one time resolving to immediately march out of the town;—that they were afterwards countermanding the orders thus given, and so on;—yet no one, I believe, with the exception of Peter Clarke, has had the honesty to record the sole true cause of this fatal wavering and procrastination,—of this fatal state of lethargy.

To the explanation therefore given of this mysterious matter, let us now pay a more than ordinary degree of attention.

§ 25.—NOVR. 9TH TO 12TH, COURTING AND FFEASTING.

The Ladys in this toune, Preston, are so very beautyfull & so richly atired, that the Gentlemen Soldiers from Wednesday to Saturday minded nothing but courting and ffeasting.

Voilà tout!—That is,—to take a generous view of the affair,—"The Gentlemen Soldiers," fatigued with the hunger, the thirst, the long marches, the watchings, the painful anxieties, and the other toils of a perilous expedition, seemed to have enjoyed, with so much the greater zest, the hospitality of Preston, and the entertainments prepared for them by the assiduity of the fair Lancashire witches. "The gentlemen soldiers," says Clarke, for three days "minded nothing but courting and feasting."

THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE INSURGENTS TO THE ADVANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT FORCES, ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE GAIETIES OF PRESTON.

Such was the dissipation which Preston, the Capua of Lancashire, presented in the memorable autumn of 1715.

But how painfully was it in contrast with the busy, yet formidable preparations of war going on at the neighbouring town of Wigan, about twelve miles distant from this gay scene, where all the regiments under Wills were fast gathering, in anticipation of an eventful contest, which was to decide the fate of the Jacobite cause in England.

And even with regard to the advance of General Carpenter from the North, the same indifference prevailed. This officer, after having refreshed his army at Newcastle, had an express sent by Sir Henry Houghton, acquainting him, that the Rebels were fast advancing towards Lancaster; upon the receipt of which intelligence he was hastening "over mountains and deep ways" (as it was stated), with all possible speed, in the hopes of reaching Preston on the 12th or 13th instant, so as to co-operate with Wills.

And was Forster with equal activity employed in entrenching himself against the forces which were hastening against him, with fearful rapidity, from the North and from the West?

Although Forster had been assured how near Wills's army had approached towards him, he was not at the trouble of acquiring any further information of hostile movements, either from personal observation, or through the means of scouts. And, when the intelligence of the enemy's approach did actually arrive, the insensibility of the man to the critical situation of his army is almost incredible. Yet that such was the fact, we glean from the military journal to which I have often alluded:

"Upon Friday the eleventh," says the Merse Officer, "about seven at night, the Earl of Derwentwater received a letter from the Lord M—— informing us, that, about twelve of the clock, Wills, being joined with seven regiments more, resolved to

march towards Preston. When this letter was communicated to General Forster he appeared dispirited, and then, as at all other times, very unfit for such an important command. He had nothing to say, but sent the letter to my Lord Kenmure. His Lordship upon reading of it, going with the other persons of note to Mr Forster's quarters, found him in bed without the least concern. A council being called, it was thought convenient to detach a party of horse towards Wigan, as an advanced guard, and another party of foot to Derrin" [Darwin] " and Ribble bridges, and the whole army had orders to be in readiness to take the field. But, to our great surprise, these orders were countermanded by Forster."—[Journal of a Merse Officer.]

How is it possible to explain this senseless apathy of the "fox-hunting squire," as Oldmixon, with perhaps too much severity, has named the General of the insurgent army ?

It would be a charitable supposition to be entertained, that when the important letter actually arrived, the General "had received some little damage in the course of a convivial entertainment, so as to render it necessary, that, instead of studying military despatches, he should retire to bed."

But granting that such a conjecture is not quite an unwarrantable one, the most revolting part of the General's conduct is, that he only awakened to testify to his amazed subordinates that his authority had not slept with him. He countermanded all the provident orders which had been issued out by the officers under him during the time that he lay slumbering in his bed; and even to the very moment when Wills actually made his appearance at the head of his forces, the infatuated leader asserted, that his formidable opponent was still many miles distant, and that, in the absence of information from his Lancashire friends, who were affirmed to be on the watch within a circuit of forty miles, there was not the smallest cause of apprehension or alarm.

But it is time to refer, with more confidence than ever, this state of apathy to its true and only efficient cause, namely, the cause assigned by honest, faithful, Peter Clarke: "The Ladys in this towne, Preston, are so very beautyfull and so richly atired, that

the Gentlemen Soldiers from Wednesday to Saturday minded nothing but courting and ffeasting."

This incident, trifling as it might have at first appeared, is of no little importance (as I have endeavoured to shew) in the present narrative, and unquestionably it was recorded as such by the plain, straightforward writer whose journal is now edited. It assigns an adequate reason for negligence on the part of the Insurgents, which hitherto has appeared inexplicable.

"PROUD PRESTON," as this aristocratic town was long named, had been selected—and, from its central situation, milder climate, and beautiful aspect, deservedly so,—as a winter residence for the leading gentry of the county. The Duke of Marlborough, who was well studied in human nature, while he was aware that the Insurgent force would suffer some detention at Preston, then considered as the district where the Roman Catholics most abounded, must also have calculated upon the allurements incidental to a town long regarded as the metropolis of Lancashire. In directing, therefore, the general operations of the Government forces, the experienced veteran did not overlook the enervating effect liable to result from such gay quarters as THE LANCASHIRE CAPUA was likely to afford. He adverted to PRESTON as the net of the Fowler, in preparation for the wild birds of prey who were to be gathered therein: "It is here," said the Duke, with prophetic discrimination, "that we shall find them!"

§ 26.—PRESTON SURRENDRED TO THE TWO GENRALLS CARPENTER & WILLS, &c. &c.

The day last menconed abt one a Clock in the afternoone, Genrall Wills with his men came up to Rible bridge & from thence preeded [proceeded ?] to Preston. Genrall Carpenter and his men came to that toune on Sunday morning, and on Monday morning the El Derwentwater surrendred ye sd toune, and he and all his men yt were yn yt town made prisonrs of war. It may be expected that I should here give

you account of the two Genralls Carpenter & Wills preedings [proceedings] and of the defence yt ye El Derwentwater & his men made, as also of the numbr that were on both sides killed and wounded, but for sound reasons I shall omit it; and only take notice, that after the sd two Genralls men had taken whole pcossion of the sd Towne of Preston, they with force and armes broke open doors & locks of chambers and clossetts, and the moneys, plate, goods and chatles of most of the inhabts of that towne (who were & still are good subjects to His Majties King George governmt) contrary to the will of the ownrs of the sd goods, ffelonyously did steal, take & carry away contrary to His said Majties peace, crowne and dignity, and also contrary to the laws of this nation in that case made and pvided. I am Sr

Yo hble Servt

PETER CLARKE.

Upon this part of the journal no historical comments will at present be made. The author has explained in his text, that it was for certain "sound reasons" that he withheld any account of PRESTON FIGHT,—as the engagement which ensued was popularly named. A suspicion might hence be entertained, that Peter Clarke, in the capacity of a legal retainer of the Earl of Derwentwater, or some other leader, might either have been personally engaged in the conflict, or that by the publication of the Insurgent operations, he feared to commit himself by contributing evidence of which the prosecutors for the crown would have availed themselves. But these are mere conjectures. The account of PRESTON FIGHT appears in Clarke's manuscript under the form of a supplement, or appendix, which had probably been added to the journal after the Act of Indemnity had passed in the year 1717.

The account which this supplement gives us of PRESTON FIGHT, although brief, omits but few of the leading incidents connected with this dénouement of the Insurgent campaign. It will therefore form, with numerous explanatory notes, the FOURTH PART of the present work.

Some few comments are also suggested by what Clarke relates of the subsequent plunder of the town by the Government Troops. But these will be postponed until the details of Preston Fight have been fully given.

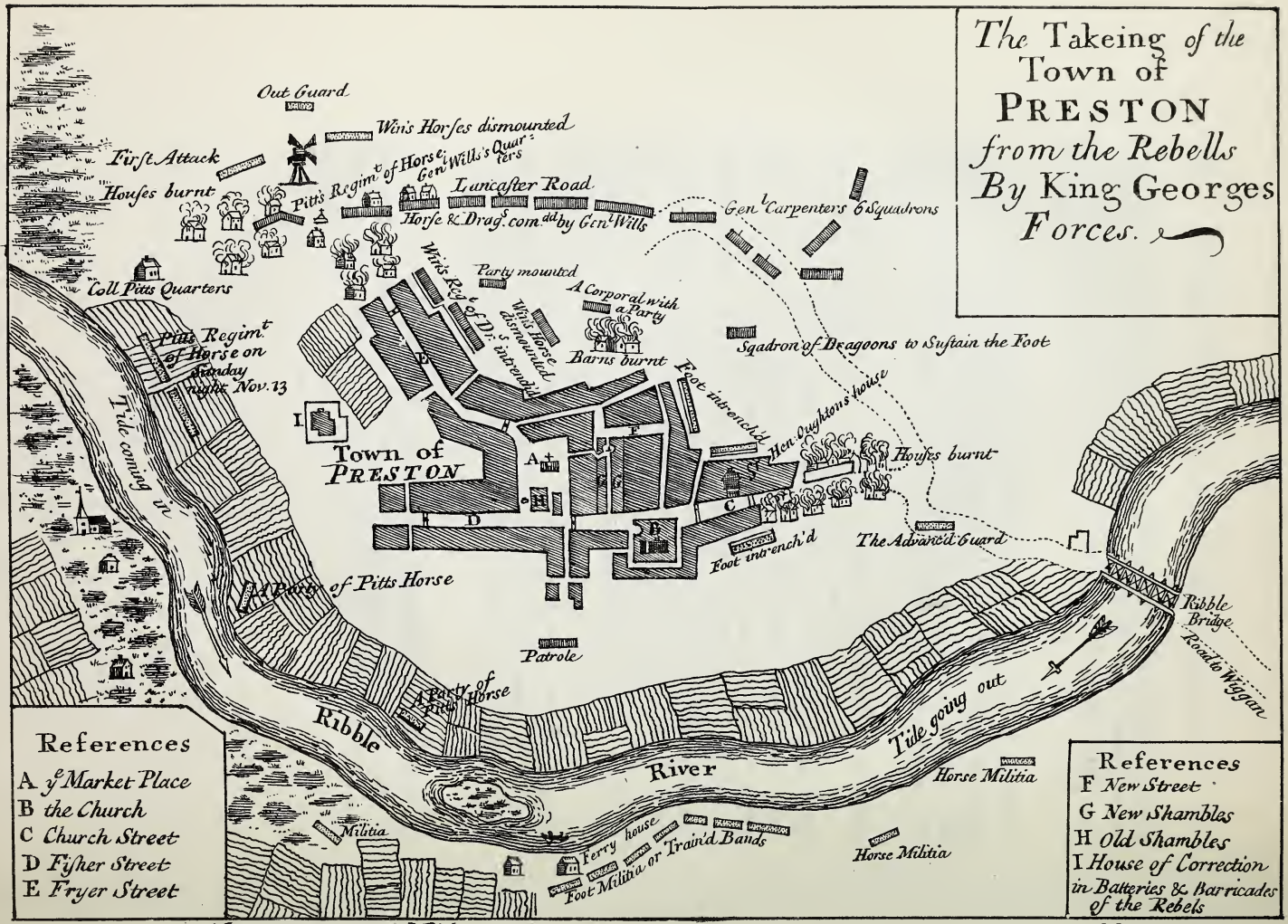
After this explanation, the narrative will now go on uninterruptedly. It has been brought up to the eve of the attack, when all, or most part of the re-inforcements, which Lancashire had provided for the Rebel army, had assembled in the streets of Preston.

But what was the actual amount of the Rebel army after it had been thus strengthened by Lancashire recruits?

It is said by Rae, and other writers, to have exceeded 4000 men. But this is little more than a conjectural calculation. Before the attack actually commenced, no time had been afforded for the enrolment of names, much less for a systematic organization of the army. And, in consequence of the military blunder committed by General Wills, in not having blocked up all the avenues of the town when he laid it under siege, it is supposed that upon a treaty for capitulation having been meditated, at least more than one-half of the Rebel army had time afforded them to escape.

From this cause, therefore, the numbers who actually swelled the Insurgent ranks in Lancashire, as well as the names of various influential individuals, who drew their swords at Preston Fight, will for ever remain unknown.

In order to facilitate the description intended to be given of the military operations in Preston, a correct fac-simile of the plan of Preston Fight, which was published in 1715, fronts the title-page of Part IV.


The Takeing of the Town of PRESTON from the Rebells By King Georges Forces.
Out Guard
Win's Horses dismounted
First Attack
Houses burnt
Pitt's Regim.t of Horse & Gen.l Wills's Quarters
Lancaster Road
Horse & Drag.s com.dd by Gen.l Wills
Gen.l Carpenters 6 Squadrons
Coll Pitts Quarters
Party mounted
A Corporal with a Party
Win's Regt of Dr.s intrench'd
Win's Horse dismounted
Barns burnt
Pitts Regim.t of Horse on Sunday night Nov.13
Squadron of Dragoons to Sustain the Foot
Foot intrench'd
Hon.r Oughtons house
Houses burnt
Town of PRESTON
Tide coming in
The Advanc'd Guard
Foot intrench'd
A Party of Pitts Horse
Ribble Bridge
Road to Wiggan
Patrole
A Party of Pitts Horse
Ribble River
Tide going out
Horse Militia
Militia
Ferry house
Foot Militia or Train'd Bands
Horse Militia
References
A y.e Market Place
B the Church
C Church Street
D Fysher Street
E Fryer Street
References
F New Street
G New Shamblas
H Old Shamblas
I House of Correction
in Batteries & Barricades of the Rebels
S. Leath sculp.t Edin.r

PART IV.

PRESTON FIGHT:

BEING A SUPPLEMENT APPENDED TO THE JOURNAL

OF

PETER CLARKE.

WITH NOTES, &c.,

BY SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c. &c.

CONTENTS.

Introduction.—General Wills marches towards Preston;—Arming of the Chowbent Presbyterians;—Forster's incredulity on Wills's near approach;—Mackintosh's plan of defending the town.

§ 1. Wills crosses the Ribble bridge and prepares for the attack.

§ 2. The Insurgents throw up barricades in the town.

§ 3. Attack on the Church gate barricade.

§ 4. Occupation of Sir Henry Houghton's house by the Government troops, and attack on Lord Charles Murray's barricade.

§ 5. Attack on the Windmill barricade.

§ 6. Events during the night, and remarks on the success of Mackintosh's plans.

§ 7. General Carpenter comes up;—his newer arrangement, by which the whole town is surrounded by troops.

§ 8. Cessation of arms;—the treaty for surrender;—the infraction of the armistice;—and hostages required from the Insurgents.

§ 9. The capitulation of the Insurgent force.

§ 10. The number of killed and wounded.

The plunder of the town by the Government forces.

AN INTERVAL OF EVENTS, UNNOTICED BY PETER CLARKE, SUPPLIED.

In the course of adding to the information afforded in the journal, now edited, we left off on the evening of Friday the 11th of November. But between this date and the hour of eleven o'clock on the following morning of Saturday, when the journal of Peter Clarke is resumed, many details ought to be known.

a) THE FORCE WITH WHICH GENERAL WILLS MARCHED TOWARDS PRESTON.

Preparatory to the attack intended to be made on Saturday the 12th of November, General Wills had marshalled the Horse and Dragoons under his command as follows:

The Horse and Dragoons were formed into three Brigades;

The first consisted of Wynn's and Honeywood's regiments, under command of Brigadier Honeywood;

The second consisted of Munden's and Stanhope's regiments, under command of Brigadier Munden; while

The third comprised Pitt's and Dormer's, under Brigadier Dormer.

This preliminary arrangement having been made, the General then issued directions to set out from Wigan, at break of day, in the following order, to commence the attack on the Town of Preston:

In the front, Preston's Foot, with a Captain and fifty men from the regiment for a vanguard;—

This regiment to be followed by Honeywood's Brigade of horse; then by Dormer's; while Munden's was to be in the rear;—

And, in the rear of all, the Baggage.

(b) THE ARMING OF THE PRESBYTERIANS OF CHOWBENT, NEAR WIGAN.

Preparatory to the attack intended to be made on the 12th of November against the rebels, General Wills, while at Wigan, appears to have entered into consultation with Sir Henry Houghton, upon the propriety of encouraging such of the peasantry as were well affected towards the Government, to meet in arms, with the view of their rendering assistance to the King's forces, while the siege of Preston was going on, in defending the bridge and fords of the Ribble, in case the besieged should attempt in this direction to sally forth, or escape. But, as Sir Henry was aware, that, in this particular part of the county, a great proportion of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics, and that the clergy of the Establishment were more inclined to favour High Church Toryism than Whiggism, he judged that little dependence could be placed upon the men who had been exposed to these religious influences. In this state of perplexity, it could not but have occurred to the mind of Sir Henry Houghton, that the Presbyterians would have no bias whatever against the Hanoverian cause, their prepossessions being in favour of a Whig Government, which had secured to them an Act of Toleration, while their sectarian prejudices were most adverse to the views of a Popish Prince. From these considerations, he was induced to invite the Presbyterian pastors of the neighbourhood of Preston, to encourage their respective congregations to give aid to the Government at this eventful crisis.

The original letter which Sir Henry Houghton wrote, under the authority of General Wills, to the Reverend James Wood, or Woods, as he was variously named, a Presbyterian pastor of Chowbent, existed so late as the year 1793, when it was fortunately copied by the Reverend Mr Toulmin, and published in the biography of a friend of Mr Woods.—[Life, &c., of Mr John Mort.] Being in a very tattered state, the words which Mr Toulmin supplied, are contained within brackets :

To the Rev. Mr Woods in Chowbent, for His Majesty's Service.
CHARLES WILLS.

The officers here design to march at break of day for Preston, they have desi[red me] to raise what men I can to meet us at Pr[eston to]morrow, so desire you to raise all the force you [can], I mean lusty young fellows to draw up on C[uerden] Green, to be there by 10 o'clock, to bring w[ith them] what arms they have fitt for service, and [scythes] put in streight polls, and such as have not, to bring spades and billhooks for pionee[ring] with. Pray go immediately all amongst y[our] neighbours and give this notice.

I am your very faithful servant

WIGAN, 11*th Novr.* 1715. H. HOG[HTON].

The Rev. James Woods was an enthusiastic Presbyterian. No sooner did he receive this letter of authority, than he invoked his congregation to aid him in the holy fight. And very undauntedly did the energetic leader, who was eventually styled "General Woods," lead up his men. So warmed was he with the sacred cause, that, according to tradition, he drew upon a man who had exhibited signs of fear.

It appears, however, that the Reverend James Woods had a fellow-labourer in this warfare. He was assisted by another Dissenting minister of the name of Walker. This is to be learned from a journal of the proceeding, which is quoted in Rae's History, under the date of Saturday, November 12th, 1715, "We have it from several good hands, that upon this day's march, Mr Wood and Mr Walker, two Dissenting ministers in Lancashire, came to General Wills, while he was yet some miles from Preston, and told him they had a considerable party of men well armed for his Majesty's service; and that they were ready to take any post his Excellency was pleased to assign them. As

soon as he knew who they were, and had seen their men, he told them, that after he was come to Preston he would assign them a post."

In the mean time Mr Woods rendered great service to the military operations of General Wills, by preventing any further aid being sent to the rebels across the Ribble Bridge.

(c) THE INCREDULITY OF FORSTER UPON HEARING OF GENERAL WILLS' NEAR APPROACH.

In the last part of this History, we ended with a brief summary of the mode in which the Insurgents were employed in the Lancashire Capua,—" courting and feasting."—But the fatal day of reckoning had arrived.

Although Forster on the previous evening of Friday had been assured of the advance of Wills from Wigan to Preston, his incredulity continued until the sun again rose upon a day of fearful slaughter. We are assured, that even on the morning of the attack, so little was the near approach of Wills either known or dreaded, that Mr Paul, the new Chaplain, who had recently joined, obtained leave to visit Staffordshire, with letters to a noble Lord in that county, and with orders to recruit in Leicestershire for the Jacobite cause. On the road he met General Wills, who, not suspecting that he was one of the Rebels, stopped him, asked a few questions, and allowed him to depart.

On the same morning of Saturday, as Patten informs us, " Forster had given orders for his whole army to march from Preston towards Manchester, and he could scarce credit the reports that General Wills was advancing from Wigan to attack them. But he was soon satisfied of it by messengers on all sides."

This incredulity is amazing. It was scarcely surpassed by that of Macbeth, upon hearing that Birnam wood was actually on its march to " Dunsinane's high hill."

(d) A DETACHMENT OF THE INSURGENTS SETS OUT TO DEFEND THE PASS OF THE RIBBLE BRIDGE.

Soon after daylight in the morning, the vanguard of General Wills's force was seen approaching in the direction of Walton-le-Dale, situated near the Ribble Bridge.

The alarm having been given, a detachment of 100 choice, stout, and well-armed men, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel John Farquharson of Invercauld, belonging to Mackintosh's battalion, was sent to defend the Ribble Bridge. But General Forster went beyond the bridge with a party of horse to reconnoitre, and when he discovered the vanguard of the King's dragoons, instead of returning by the bridge, he came back to the town another way, with the object (as he stated) of inspecting a ford in the river, which might command a passage on the rear of the enemy. In the mean time, he ordered Mr Patten to ride back to Preston, and to give an account of the approach of the King's army. He also, to the great disappointment of the Rebel Force, ordered Farquharson's party to abandon the Ribble Bridge, and to retreat to the town.

Forster has been exceedingly blamed for having given this order, but apparently without reason, as he seems, on this solitary occasion, to have acted on the advice of Brigadier Mackintosh, who pronounced that the bridge was not maintainable, on account of the river being fordable in many places.

(e) THE RECOMMENDATION OF BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH, AS TO THE MODE OF DEFENCE WHICH OUGHT TO BE ADOPTED BY THE INSURGENTS.

The attack of Wills having been so generally unexpected,—at a time even when the Insurgents were setting out for Manchester, it is evident, that, on the emergency of the moment, the military experience of Brigadier Mackintosh would be immediately and urgently summoned into requisition; and that to this expe-

rience, appealed to by the general voice of the Rebel army, even Forster would be compelled to yield.

The views of Brigadier Mackintosh, as far as they can be collected from the historians of this period, particularly Patten, appear to have been as follows :—

In the first place, this Veteran appears to have been secretly aware of the disadvantage of leading a mixed force of Scottish and English troops,—who, under the most advantageous of circumstances, would have acted ill in concert,—into an open field of combat, where, from their undisciplined state, they would have been unequal to the manœuvres,—perhaps intricate ones,—necessary to ensure success against better drilled Government troops, in contending with whom they would have been under the command of a self-opinionated leader of gross inefficiency. Accordingly, if the Brigadier had consented to a defence of the pass of Ribble Bridge, how could he fail to have foreseen, that the fordable state of the river would allow Wills's cavalry to cross over, and might thus lead to a general engagement in the open fields at the outskirts of the Town?—an engagement, which, for other reasons remaining to be stated, it was decidedly his best policy to avoid.

In the second place, Mackintosh was perfectly aware that his Highland regiments of foot never fought with so much success as when they were opposed to an enemy who, like them, were also on foot. With Infantry soldiers they would instantly close, while their slaughterous claymores would achieve the rest. But in this contest, the Brigadier reflected, that, with the exception of a solitary regiment of infantry, his Highlanders would be opposed to a strong body of cavalry, which they had not then learned to face, and against which their mountain style of warfare was powerless. "Nothing," he candidly observed, "more alarms the Highlanders than Horse and Cannon." For these reasons, therefore, it was his evident object to avoid an open field of combat, where the cavalry of the enemy (for they were destitute of artillery) would have full play.

In the third place, if the defence of the Ribble Bridge and the open field of warfare to which it might lead, were, under these peculiar circumstances, inadvisable, the next question is,—What plan of defence, or attack, would remain?

In deciding upon this question, the Brigadier immediately saw the immense advantage which might be derived from bringing the arena of battle as near to the town as possible, and, if unavoidable, even within the very centre of it, where from barricades thrown up at different parts of the streets, as well as from the windows and roofs of houses, a most destructive fire might be poured down upon Wills's troops as they entered, while the operations of the cavalry, of which the Government Army chiefly consisted, would be averted.

After this preliminary explanation, with the view of supplying a blank in Clarke's narrative, we may now return to the journal itself.

§ 1.—12TH NOVEMBER 1715. GENR'ALL WILLS & HIS MEN COME TO WALTON LE DALE.

Upon Saturday ye 12th Novembr 1715, abt 11 a clock in the forenoone, the Earl Derwentwater ordred 300 Horsemen to go to Rible bridge to oppose Genrall Wills passage over it: but abt one hour after Genrall Wills & his men came into Walton in Le dale, neare unto ye sd Rible Bridge, the sd El Derwentwaters men retired into Preston.

There is no doubt that when the Earl of Derwentwater ordered three hundred men to the pass of Ribble Bridge, and afterwards consented to their return, he acted agreeably to the general system of defence which had been explained to him by Brigadier Mackintosh.

About twelve o'clock, as Clarke relates, General Wills arrived at the Ribble bridge. He expected some difficulty at this pass, and

was utterly amazed at seeing it given up to him without opposition. Naturally, therefore, suspecting some stratagem, he made immediate dispositions for an attack upon the town. But, before undertaking this task, he planted all the Horse and Foot Militia at his disposal, on the south side of the Ribble, with the object of defending the bridge, as well as of preventing the Rebels from escaping that way, or their friends from approaching in that direction to join them.—To James Wood, the enthusiastic pastor of Chowbent, and his band of Presbyterians, there was assigned a station on the south side of the Ribble, for the defence of the ford which leads from Penwortham to Preston.

(a) WILLS CROSSES THE RIBBLE BRIDGE.

After these previous arrangements had been made, Wills, with the regular force under his command, crossed the Ribble bridge. In proceeding cautiously along a deep lane lined with lofty hedges, he caused the hedges and ditches to be carefully examined and the roads to be laid open for the admission of his cavalry. Finding, however, the way quite clear, his next conclusion was, that the enemy had abandoned the town as well as the bridge, and were endeavouring by long marches to return to Scotland. But in this view also he was mistaken. He was informed that the Rebels had resolved to wait his approach to the town, and there to resolutely receive him.

(b) WILLS PREPARES FOR THE ATTACK.

Under these circumstances, Wills immediately led his troops through a gate into some fields of sufficient elevation to command the town, where he first employed himself in so extending the enclosures, as to prevent any sallying out of the enemy, and, in case of such an attempt, to be enabled to cut off their retreat. Fearing also that the Insurgents had entrenched themselves either close to the town, or in the heart of it, where Horse could not act, he saw the necessity of employing dismounted cavalry, and accordingly directed the operations as follows :—

Two conjoined attacks to be made : the FIRST upon the avenue

which leads to Wigan, and the SECOND upon the avenue at the opposite side of the town, which leads to Lancaster.

The attack upon the avenue leading to Wigan to be entrusted to Brigadier Honeywood; the attack upon the avenue leading to Lancaster to be given to Brigadier Dormer and Brigadier Munden conjointly.

I. For Brigadier Honeywood's proposed attack on the Wigan avenue:
   (a) Preston's regiment of Foot commanded by Lord Forrester;
   (b) A Captain and fifty dragoons from each of the five regiments, with a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major to command them, to be severally dismounted and to sustain Preston's foot; and
   (c) Brigadier Honeywood's regiment to sustain the whole on horseback.

II. For the proposed attack on the Lancaster avenue by Brigadiers Dormer and Munden:

(a) Regiment of Wynn,	}	Ordered to dismount under the command of Brigadier Dormer and Brigadier Munden.
(b) Regiment of Dormer,		
(c) Squadron of Stanhope,		
(d) Regiment of Pitt,	}	Ordered to remain on horseback to sustain Brigadier Dormer.
(e) Regiment of Munden,		
(f) Squadron of Stanhope,		

The general orders given to the Brigadiers were to gain possession of the ends of the Town, and to set the houses on fire, thereby to dislodge the Rebels; also to make such lodgements for their own men as would be calculated to prevent the sallying out of the enemy upon them, as well as to hinder the Rebels from making their escape.

While General Wills was thus employed, we may now inquire what the Insurgents were doing.

§ 2.—AFTER RETIRING INTO PRESTON, THERE THEY MAKE TRENSHES AND BARACADES.

And there they made a trensh and made a Baracade ov^{r} ag^{t} the church in Church Gate Preston, & there placed two of the ship guns charged with small bullet, and at the outends of this towne they made trences.

The insurgents, under the superintendence of Brigadier Mackintosh, laboured most assiduously in entrenching themselves and throwing up barricades. The Earl of Derwentwater stripped himself to the waistcoat, and encouraged his men in the work by bounteous rewards of money. According to the journal of the Merse Officer and Patten's narrative,

FOUR BARRIERS WERE FORMED.

The first was a little below the Church and was commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh. The Teviotdale, Berwickshire, and Northumberland Gentlemen were posted on the North side of the Church; while the Borderers, under Douglas and Hunter, were planted on the South side of the Church.—It may be here observed, that the Brigadier was blamed for not having made his barricade at the extreme end of the town; but his reply was, that there were so many lanes and avenues, that to defend such a barricade would have required more men than he possessed.

The second Barrier was on the outside of a hedge which flanked a broadway from Sir Henry Houghton's Garden. Patten describes it as being at the end of a lane leading to the fields. It was placed under the care of Lord Charles Murray.

The third Barrier, named, from its situation, the Windmill barrier, was on the road leading to Lancaster, where the Mackintoshes, under Colonel Mackintosh, were planted.

The fourth Barrier was in Fishergate, variously named the Watergate, leading to Liverpool, where Lord Strathmore's men, under Major Miller and Mr Douglas, were placed.

Captain Wogan was posted with an advance party upon the street a little above Sir Henry Houghton's House.

The rest of the men were fixed, by way of reserve, in the Market Place.

Such were the preparations made to receive the Government troops. While General Wills was in the course of making a survey of the town, and while these operations were going on, two of the dragoons who accompanied him were shot. Consequently, he gave no summons of surrender.

"Our army was scarcely modelled," says the Merse Officer, "when the enemy was upon us."

§ 3.—GENERAL WILLS MEN ENTER THE CHURCHGATE STREET.

Ab^{t} 2 a clock this afternoone, 200 of Gen^{r}all Wills men entred the Churchgate street, and the Highland^{r}s firing out of the cell^{r}s and windows, in 10 minuits time kiled 120 of them. The Highland^{r}s also fired the s^{d} 2 ship guns, but the bulletts flew upon the houses, so that no execuc^{o}on was done thereby.

This rather meagre account alludes to the attack, which, in the first instance, was made upon the Churchgate Barrier.

(a) ATTACK ON THE CHURCHGATE BARRIER.

The Churchgate Barrier was commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh. Several gentlemen volunteers, who had been drawn up in the Churchyard under the command of the Earl of Derwentwater, Viscount Kenmure, and the Earls of Wintoun and Nithisdale, hastened to the defence of this Barrier. The Earl of Derwentwater is said to have headed the Gentlemen on the North side of the Churchyard.

The attack of this barrier formed a part of the Wigan lane assault which General Wills had assigned to Brigadier Honeywood. The Brigadier was accompanied by Lord Forester, who

commanded Preston's regiment of Infantry. There was a slight barricade, or outwork, thrown up before reaching this principal barrier, namely that of Captain Wogan, which the rebels soon abandoned. Upon the King's forces approaching the Churchgate Barrier, a terrible fire was poured down upon the assailants, as well from the Barricade as from the houses on both sides. A seaman took the management of two of the Ship guns, seized at Lancaster, which had been planted upon the Churchgate Barricade. Whether from too much ale (as was suspected), or from want of skill, the first shot brought down the top of a chimney. But Patten assures us that, upon the next fire the sailor did so much execution, as to cause the regiment which was advancing against the barrier to halt.

This affair reflected no little credit upon the judicious and active arrangements of Brigadier Mackintosh, who commanded the Churchgate Barrier. Yet it is melancholy to learn, how the best concerted plans were liable to be foiled by the interference of the ignorant and vain Forster. In the midst of the engagement, Forster thought he would shew, that "he was far from being a coward" (for which he has had plenary absolution given to him by his obsequious Chaplain), by riding up to Mackintosh in the face of the King's troops, and commanding him with his Highland Foot to make a sally upon the enemy. This command the Veteran hesitated to obey. The reason which he gave was, that if his Foot were to sally out they would be parted from the Horse; and that being left naked, they would be liable to be cut off. Forster, still impatient of military counsel, although he yielded to this reason, ordered the Horse to sally out. But it was urged by Mackintosh, that if the Cavalry under him were to attempt any such thing, they would have to go through the fire of his own Foot; and that in case the Horse should be foiled in the attempt, and not be able to secure their retreat, a panic might come over the foot that they would be left pent up in the town, and unprotected by any horse. He even added, that his Highlanders had been already afraid that such was the intention of the Cavalry. To this explanation high words ensued, which

ended in Forster telling the Brigadier, that if he outlived the service, and if ever the King should come to his Own, he would have him tried by a Court-martial.

Such was the discord subsisting between the English Commander and the Highland forces, which might have endangered the success of the Brigadier's plan.

But the result may be summed up in a few words.

In this defence of the Churchgate Barrier, the Highlanders and other soldiers suffered little or nothing, while the loss of the Government troops, from shots fired in the course of the assault, as well as from cellars and windows, was very great. Clarke perhaps exaggerates the number of killed, in stating them to be 120. Eventually the assailants were obliged to retire.

§ 4.—A PARTY SENT TO BURNE THE HOUSES AND BARNES WHERE THE HIGHLANDRS WERE.

A litle time after this, a party was sent to burne the houses & barnes where the Highlandrs were at the entrance of the sd Church Gate street, and accordingly sevrall houses & barnes were burnt and so forced the Highlandrs to move up furthr into this towne. At this time the wind was North, wch, if it had been South, the judicious are of opinion that most of this towne wood have been burnt.

This event, as related by Clarke, followed the only unfortunate event of this day's proceedings incidental to the movements of the Rebel force. This was

THE OCCUPATION OF SIR HENRY HOUGHTON'S HOUSE BY THE GOVERNMENT TROOPS.

Patten (p. 107 of his History) states, that the house of Sir Henry Houghton, which he extols as lofty and overlooking the whole town, had been taken possession of by Captain Innes and fifty Highlanders. This most advantageous post is described by the Merse Offi-

cer, in his journal, as "a house, whose battlement and battery did command the head of the Hollow way that leads from the bridge to the Town, and the street in the Mercat-Place, and a great part of the neighbouring fields: This House had a garden at the back of it, with a high brick wall."

The house bordered upon the street leading to Wigan, named the Wigan Lane, on both sides of which, soldiers were placed, who maintained an active fire upon the King's troops, as they passed.

Patten states (p. 108 of his work), that Captain Innes and fifty Highlanders had been stationed in this house, and that Brigadier Mackintosh had improvidently removed them from this post to another service. This was not a circumstance very likely to happen; but if true, it is equally improbable that Captain Innes and his Highlanders would be called off so important a post, without the Brigadier substituting in their place some other party. It is only in this manner we can explain the assertion of the Merse Officer, that it was Captain Maclean and his company of Gentlemen Volunteers who occupied Sir Henry Houghton's house. But the same military Journalist even further adds, in decided language, that it was Mr Forster who "ordered Captain M——n" [Maclean] "with his company of Gentlemen Volunteers to leave this most advantageous post." And thus it was, that the best contrived plans became liable to frustration, owing to the constant blundering of this miserable General.

At the time when this important station was left defenceless, Lord Forrester, at the head of Preston's Foot, and supported by Honeywood's dragoons, was marching towards the Church Gate Barrier. He did not however advance with the whole of his men to the head of the street, where a hot fire was incessantly kept up by the Rebels, but, in the first place, led his force into a strait passage behind the houses; from which shelter he from time to time, issued to make observations, though at imminent peril, from the number of shots which were levelled at him whenever he appeared in the open street. Having at length well reconnoitred, he returned to his men and headed them towards the middle of the street. There, while he encouraged some of them to face the bar-

rier where Brigadier Mackintosh was posted, he commanded others of his regiment to take possession of the two great houses situated opposite to each other, belonging to Sir Henry Houghton and Mr Ayres.

The events which followed are the most accurately related in the journal of the Merse Officer: "His Lordship" [the Earl of Derwentwater] "sent me to the top of the steeple in order to view the Enemy's disposition, where I saw a regiment of Foot possess themselves of Sir Henry Hortoun's house, and a strong detachment of dragoons on foot possess another house" [Mr Ayres's] "opposite to Hortoun's. I saw them march through Sir Henry's garden, and draw up in battalion at the foot of the Broad Lane. I desired the Earl of Derwentwater to close the right of his men to the range of houses that runs from Sir Henry's house to a street northward from the church, which was done. I gave likewise a signal, intimating that the enemy was within the flank of Lord Charles Murray's men, upon which the brave and undaunted Earl of Derwentwater wheeled his gentlemen to the right, covering the head of the Back Lane, and received the enemy with a very brisk and successful fire. Lord Charles Murray flanked them with as close a fire, and put them in great confusion and to flight. They sheltered themselves in Sir Henry Hortoun's house. I desired that the said house should be demolished by two pieces of cannon that were ready charged on the front of the churchyard, and that the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Charles Murray should jointly attack the enemy without the town. I went for orders to General Forster, who would by no means allow it, saying, 'that the body of the town was the security of the army.'"

It is a revolting task to continue recounting the mistakes of this most unfit General, who, while he was perfectly correct in repeating the maxim impressed upon him by Brigadier Mackintosh, that "the body of the town was the security of the army," could not distinguish between the policy of retaining the body of the town for his own security, and of receiving within it, as he would an ally, the very enemy with whom he was then contending. In fact, two such commanding positions for musquetry as the lofty

houses of Sir Henry Houghton and Mr Ayres afforded, ought never to have been surrendered, without a powerful resistance.

By the possession of this street and houses, Brigadier Honeywood secured his men from the fire of the rebels, which was very great, and which from the windows had annoyed them much. When he had thus got his men under cover, he ordered the houses and barns between him and the Barricade to be set on fire, which, as Clarke adds, caused the Highlanders who were at the entrance of the Churchgate Street, to move farther up the town.

While thus employed, the insurgents from the barrier and from the houses on both sides, among whom were Captain Douglas's and Captain Hunter's adventurous Borderers, poured out from windows a slaughterous fire on the Government troops. It is, for instance, stated, that in the regiment which Lord Forrester commanded, about thirty men were killed upon the spot, and that the loss was from sixty to seventy men.

ATTACK ON THE BARRIER COMMANDED BY LORD CHARLES MURRAY.

This barrier, to which Peter Clarke does not allude, has been already described, as having been placed on the inside of a hedge, which flanked a broad way from Sir Henry Houghton's garden; —it was at the extremity of a lane which led into the fields.

The attack upon this barrier may be related in the words of an eye-witness of it, the Rev. Robert Patten:

"The next barrier which was attacked, was commanded by Lord Charles Murray. He behaved very gallantly, but being very vigorously attacked, wanted men, and ordered Mr Patten to acquaint the Earl of Derwentwater, who immediately sent back Mr Patten with fifty Gentlemen Volunteers from the Churchyard to re-inforce him, who came in very good season.

"Immediately, Mr Patten was ordered over the barrier to view the King's Forces, who, appearing in a Clergyman's habit, was not suspected nor fired on. He soon returned back, and gave Lord Charles an account, that by what he saw they were resolved to attack him again; whereupon Lord Charles gave orders to his men to be ready to receive them; and accordingly they came on

very furiously. And though the King's forces that made the attack, were, for the most part, raw, new listed men, and seemed unwilling to fight, yet the bravery and good conduct of experienced officers much supplied that defect.

"However, Lord Charles Murray maintained the post, and obliged them to retreat with loss; nor, had they been all old Soldiers, could they have beaten Lord Charles from that barrier which was very strong. The number they had slain from the barn holes and barrier itself added very much; so that at last the officers themselves thought fit to give it over."—[Patten's Hist. p. 110 and 111.]

THE LOSS SUSTAINED IN THE SEVERAL FOREGOING ATTACKS.

The loss of the King's forces in the attacks which have been described, has been confessed, on both sides, to have been far greater than that of the Insurgents. But from the gross contradictory accounts given, as well in Jacobite as in Government reports, no stated numbers of killed and wounded can be mentioned, without suspicion and mistrust of their accuracy. The Government forces, for instance, admit the loss of two Captains, one Ensign, and twenty-eight privates; while, among the wounded, the numbers of which are withheld, appear the names of Brigadier Honeywood, Lord Forrester, Major Bland, Major Lawson, two Captains, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign.

Captain Preston, belonging to Preston's Foot, was mortally wounded, and was on the point of being cut to pieces, when Captain Wogan, an Insurgent Officer, hazarded his life among his own men to preserve this gentleman. After having brought him off, he consigned him to every possible care and kind treatment.

Among the Insurgents the loss of three valuable officers is stated; namely, of

Captain Peter Farquharson of Rochaley, Mr Clifton, brother of Sir Jervase Clifton, and Colonel Brereton;—the latter gentleman having just joined, and not having been generally known to have taken part in the Rebellion.

Captain Peter Farquharson of Rochaley, wounded by Preston's Foot, was brought into the White Bull, where all the wounded men were carried in order to be dressed. He took a glass of Brandy, "Come Lads here is to OUR MASTER'S HEALTH ;—though I can do no more, I wish you good success." His leg, adds Patten, was cut off by an unskilful butcher, rather than by a surgeon, and soon afterwards he expired.

Mr Clifton, brother to Sir Jervase Clifton, received a shot in the knee, of which he died.

§ 5.—THREE HUNDRED MEN ENTER THE BACK STREET.

Ab^{t} 4 a clock, the same day, 300 men were com^{d}anded to enter the Back Street called the Back Ween [Wynd ?] in Preston, and acordingly they made an attempt, but the Highland^{r}s placing themselves und^{r} Gardens walles, hedges, & diches, kiled the Capt and ab^{t} 140 of his men.

This description refers to

THE ATTACK ON THE LANCASTER LANE, OR WINDMILL BARRICADE.

Brigadier Dormer conducted the attack.

The regiments of Winn and Dormer, and a squadron of Stanhope's, were ordered to dismount under the command of Brigadier Dormer; while Brigadier Munden, with the regiments of Pitt, Munden, and a squadron of Stanhope's dragoons, remained on horseback to sustain Brigadier Dormer.

The Windmill Barricade was defended by the Mackintoshes, under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh's kinsman, Colonel Mackintosh. This Chieftain and his clan behaved very bravely, and from garden walls, hedges, and ditches, made a dreadful fire among the King's forces, obliging them to retreat.

Brigadier Dormer then ordered Captain Gardener, Sergeant Johnstone, and Corporal John Marlow, with other twelve of Stanhope's dragoons, to set the houses on fire, which they did with all

expedition, burning them up to the barricade. In this attack Dormer received a shot in the leg.—[Rae, pp. 319 and 320.]

Peter Clarke's account of this affair is rather vague. He states the number of the King's troops employed in this attack on the Windmill barrier at 300, but Patten assigns this particular amount to the Highlanders. No less a confusion, or contradiction, with regard to the numbers killed and wounded in the Lancaster Lane attack, pervades other reports, which for this reason are not given. It is, however, agreed by all, that the Government Forces suffered deeply in this affair. By Clarke the number killed is rated at about one hundred and forty, but an opposite account reduces the number actually slain to nine only, and the wounded to about forty. The Captain said to have been killed, was probably a son of Lord Ogilvie, who ultimately recovered.

§ 6.—NIGHT APPROACHING.

Night now approaching, Gen^{r}all Will's men camped round this town, and also burnt sev^{r}all houses and barnes att the North end of it.

Also this night sev^{r}all of the E^{l} Derwentwat^{rs} men made their escape out of this towne.

"That night," says the Merse Officer, "both armies lay upon their arms, but General Forster went to bed. All that night there were constant dropping shots."

Throughout the evening, Brigadier Honeywood was constantly employed, from the houses of Sir Henry Houghton and Mr Ayres, in firing platoons upon the Insurgents, killing, however, but few, among whom were Mr Hume, a cornet, Mr Scattery, and a Highland Gentleman under Lord Nairn. He also threw up breastworks against the sallies of the rebels, with the view of rendering their escape out of that part of the town where he was posted, impossible.

It was again conceived advisable by General Wills, to order

illuminations to distinguish the windows of all the houses of which they had gained possession. This was a command which could scarcely fail to be attended with a very indefinite, or dubious result. "As long as these illuminations continued burning," says Patten, "they exposed the Rebels, that were crossing the streets upon all occasions, to the plain view of them possessed of the houses aforesaid, and gave them a good aim at their mark. This was the occasion of the death of some, and wounds of others, even on both sides; so that, after a short time, orders were given for some to go to all the houses and call aloud to the people to put out their candles; which being shouted aloud (as is said) in the streets—for the people had shut all their doors—they mistook the command, and instead of putting out, or extinguishing their lights, set up more, which amused both sides, but did no harm to either."—[Patten's History, p. 113.]

The setting on fire of numerous houses and barns was attributed to both parties,—with the view, either of respectively covering themselves among the smoke, or of dislodging marksmen.

A little before daybreak, General Wills visited all the posts, and gave orders for making a communication between the two columns of attack, that they might sustain each other in case they were pushed.

The escape, according to Clarke, of many of the Earl of Derwentwater's men, or of the English, out of the town, was by the way of Fishergate, which led to Liverpool; an avenue which Wills, with the greatest negligence, had omitted to block up. In fact, the disappearance which took place of the new joined recruits was to a most formidable extent.

After these details, it may be proper to offer a few

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE SUCCESS OF MACKINTOSH'S PLANS.

It has been stated, that Brigadier Mackintosh, in planning the defence of Preston, had seen the immense advantage which might result from bringing the arena of battle as near to the town as possible, and even within the very centre of it, where, from barricades thrown up at the avenues, as well as from windows, from

the tops of houses, from barn holes, &c., a most destructive fire might be poured down upon Wills's troops, as they entered; while the operations of cavalry, so appalling to the Highlanders, would be averted.

In fact, such a mode of defence became additionally advisable, from the fact, that the Government troops had brought with them no artillery to batter down the intrenchments afforded by houses, barns, and barricades.

That such, therefore, was the most advisable system to be pursued, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. Military men of the present generation will recollect under what disadvantage, during the late war, besieging operations were conducted, whenever they were allowed, as a preliminary measure, to take place WITHIN, rather than WITHOUT the precincts of an invested town. It will be recollected how the British troops were thus foiled in their attempt to carry the siege of Buenos Ayres, by plunging at once into the heart of the city, and by thus exposing themselves to a most destructive fire from the windows and roofs of the houses which lined the various streets, through which the peremptory orders of an unskilful General had obliged them to pass. Military men will again recollect how, a few years ago, the well-disciplined troops of Marmont suffered within the streets of Paris, under precisely similar circumstances;—the decisive result of which led to the last Revolution of France. These instances are only brought forward to explain, that the battle of the Barricades in Preston, which resulted from Mackintosh's judicious arrangements, exhibited no difference of character from that of the very modern Battle of the Barricades, which took place in the streets of Paris.

That this plan of defence had been fully matured in the mind of the Brigadier, no doubt whatever can subsist; and, in order that Wills might more easily fall into the snare, and thus expose his men to a most dense fire of musquetry, directed from the tops of houses, Mackintosh had placed his barricades, not at the extremities of the town, which would have required more men than he possessed to defend them, but, on the contrary, near the very

heart of the town, where the houses which formed his numerous entrenchments would be less apart from each other.

Such had been the plan of operations decided upon by an old and experienced officer, which the Marplot of the Insurgent army did his utmost to frustrate, having been only checked by the influence of the gallant Earl of Derwentwater. It was, for instance, by the counter orders of Forster, that the most serious injury of the day was sustained by the occupation of the houses of Sir Henry Houghton and Mr Ayres by the Government troops, whereby they were enabled, to a certain degree, to disconcert the judicious plans of defence which had been laid. "From these two houses," says Patten, "came all the loss which the Rebels sustained during the action."

But notwithstanding this untoward event,—That the result was favourable to the Insurgents, and most adverse to the King's troops, was confessed by all who had observed the Saturday's operations. "HITHERTO," even Patten admits, "THE REBELS SEEMED TO HAVE HAD SOME ADVANTAGE, HAVING REPULSED THE KING'S FORCES IN ALL THEIR ATTACKS, AND MAINTAINED THEIR POSTS."—[Patten's History, p. 112.]

So satisfied, in fact, was Mackintosh with the events of the day, that, early on Sunday morning, the 13th of November, he wrote to the Earl of Mar, then at Perth, giving an account of the action, and expressing hopes of victory over General Wills. —[From a Journal of the Rebellion of 1715, inserted in the History of Scotland, by J. W., M.D., Dublin, 1724.]

§ 7.—NOV^{R}. 13TH, GEN^{R}ALL CARPENTER AND HIS MEN COME UP.

Also ab^{t} 10 a clock next morning, Gen^{r}all Carpenter & his men came up and camped round this towne, but did not burne neith^{r} house or barnes.

"By daylight," says the Merse Officer, "I espied from the steeple some dragoons on foot, creeping nearer to our quarters,

which party were immediately beat back. About ten of the clock Mr Carpenter and Mr Wills joined their forces."

It has been explained, that General Carpenter, by reason of hasty marches made from Newcastle, expected to be at Preston on the morning of the twelfth, in time, as he hoped, to effect a junction with Wills, before any attack should commence.

Upon arriving at Clithero the night previously to the attack, namely, on Saturday evening the 12th of November, he received from Sir Henry Houghton an express, that hostilities had commenced. He therefore used such expedition as to appear before Preston, between nine and ten o'clock on the Sunday morning. He was attended by the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Lumley, as well as by Colonel Darcy and other country gentlemen, and rode at the head of Churchhill's, Molesworth's, and Cobham's dragoons; the whole making a body of 2500 horse and dragoons. In joining General Wills, he took the command of the whole force as superior officer.

General Wills made brilliant reports of the favourable state of the operations then going on. General Carpenter gave credence to them, and expressed sentiments, which, from their being devoid of the least jealousy whatever, did credit to his principles. "I will not," he answered, "take from you any part of the renown of the victory, or lessen you upon any account. You have begun the affair so well, that you ought to have the glory of finishing it."

That Wills merited this honourable deference,—an intended tribute to military excellence, and success,—may be fairly questioned. He had been out-manœuvred by Mackintosh's system of street-fortification, whereby the Government forces had sustained great loss, independently of other mistakes, calculated to exhibit him in the light of a soldier of very common-rate talents.

CARPENTER'S SUPERIOR ARRANGEMENTS, BY WHICH THE WHOLE TOWN WAS SURROUNDED.

General Carpenter, in a survey of the town which he forthwith proceeded to make, soon discovered, that the attacks which Wills

had made were far from having been attended with the success he had been led to expect.

Finding that most part of the Horse and Dragoons, which had been posted on one side of the town, were very incommodiously crowded in a narrow street, whereby it was impossible to draw up above three or four in the front, he ordered them off to other more convenient stations.

To his great surprise, General Carpenter also remarked, that no troops had been posted at the end of the Fishergate,—which avenue led to a marsh or meadow, where were two good fords across the Ribble, conducting to the highway in the direction of Liverpool. For want of this caution, numerous rebels had up to that moment made their escape, and, even at the time when he was making his observations, were riding off before his face.

It also appeared, that no attack whatever had been made upon the Fishergate avenue, although the upper end of it, as in the other main streets of the town, had been defended by two pieces of cannon. Colonel Pitt was therefore ordered to post here his two squadrons of horse, and to extend them into the marsh, with the view of preventing any fresh escapes. Lastly, the General ordered a communication to be opened out through the enclosures on that side of the town, in order that the post might be relieved and strengthened, in case the whole body of Rebels should attempt to force, for themselves, that way, a passage for escape.

After these new dispositions had been made, the Insurgents found that they were entirely blocked up on all sides. "About eleven of the clock," says the Merse Officer, "Mr Carpenter and Mr Wills divided their forces, and surrounded the town."

§ 8.—A CESSATION OF ARMS.

Some few men on both sides were kiled this forenoon, but in the afternoon a cessation of armes were agreed on by both sides.

This very brief note of Peter Clarke comprehends two events

which followed the appearance of General Carpenter before the town; namely, the slight actions which took place; and the cessation of arms.

(a) THE SLIGHT ACTIONS ALLUDED TO IN CLARKE'S NARRATIVE.

Some of these occurred during the time when Generals Carpenter and Wills were surveying the town. Their exposure to the fire of the insurgents from windows, barriers, &c., led to a few slight actions.—Others took place, owing to the continued attempts of the Rebels to escape on the south-west of the town in the Liverpool direction. A party of fellows, in the endeavour to fly that way, was cut to pieces by the horse.

The auxiliaries of the Presbyterian Armed Band from Chowbent, under the conduct of their pastor "General Wood," [as this brave enthusiast was called,] had the charge assigned to them of defending the ford which led from Penwortham to Preston, with the view of preventing the Rebels from escaping in that direction. Wood and his colleague, the Rev. Mr Walker, are said to have fulfilled their trust with so much courage, as to have made Wills regret that a better post had not been assigned to the determined party.

(b) THE TREATY FOR SURRENDER.

When, by the judicious directions of General Carpenter, the Highlanders found that they had been completely surrounded, they were for sallying out upon the Government forces, sword in hand.

Forster, however, at the earnest persuasion of Lord Widdrington, resolved, with the concurrence of a chosen few, to seek for good terms with the two Generals, Carpenter and Wills. Accordingly, without calling any Counsel of War whatever, and without consulting any Highland, or other leaders, upon so important a proceeding, Colonel Oxburgh, who had been previously acquainted with some officers of the Government forces, was forthwith commissioned to treat for a surrender.

It was about one, or two o'clock in the day when Colonel Ox-

burgh, with a trumpeter before him, went to General Wills, who, upon hearing his errand, consented that he might come and go freely.

In this interview Oxburgh proposed, that the Insurgent force should lay down their arms as prisoners of war, under the confidence that the General would recommend them to the King for mercy.

"I will not treat with Rebels!" was the stern reply. "They have killed several of the King's subjects, and they must expect to undergo the same fate."

Oxburgh remonstrated as follows: "You are an officer and a man of Honour, and I hope that you will shew mercy to people who are willing to submit."

"All that I can do for you," answered Wills, "is, that if you lay down your arms, and submit yourselves prisoners at discretion, I will prevent the soldiers from cutting you to pieces, and give you your lives until I have farther orders; and I will allow you but one hour to consider these terms."

This hard alternative led to a fresh remonstrance, upon which Wills further explained himself;—though perhaps to no milder a purpose: "If I had the inclination, I have not the power to give you any terms, otherwise than by sparing the lives of the rebels, until His Majesty's pleasure be further known. If you expect any other terms, return to the town immediately, and I will attack you and cut you to pieces.—I will give you but one hour to consider these terms."—[State trial of the Earl of Wintoun.]

Oxburgh, however, has stated an addition to this conference; namely, that General Wills, while giving the Prince who was then seated on the throne, a great character for clemency, added, "you cannot better entitle yourselves to that clemency, than by surrendering yourselves prisoners at discretion." Upon this more cheering prospect, which Oxburgh has solemnly declared was held out to him, he returned to Forster and Lord Widdrington, with a favourable report of the result of the conference.—[Oxburgh's declaration at the Scaffold, May 14th 1716.]

But, at length, the Scottish officers, in general, began to sus-

pect, by a cessation of arms, what had been going on without their privity, or consent. Their indignation at this most disreputable treatment was great, but more particularly on account of the exasperated feelings which a tame proposal of surrender would be likely to excite among the brave Highland Clans, who, they were certain, would at once revolt from a measure so degrading to their warlike reputation.

Upon a more cool consideration, however, of the circumstances, the Scottish officers conceived, that the most politic measure which they could adopt,—certainly a measure of temporary expediency,—would be to obtain some little respite of time for deliberation. And, as they had been considered by Forster and his supporters as a distinct party in the affair of negotiation, they resolved to send over Captain Dalziel, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, to represent exclusively the Scottish forces.

Before the hour granted by Wills to Colonel Oxburgh had expired, Dalziel obtained a conference.—The reply of the General was, that he would not treat with rebels, nor give them any other terms than what he had before offered them.—It was then desired, on the part of the Scottish forces, that further time might be allowed until seven o'clock the next day, in order to consult regarding the best mode of delivering themselves up. To this request it does not appear that any decisive answer was given,—for the reason, probably, that General Carpenter had to be consulted on the proposal.

In the mean time, the rumour of a treaty for capitulation got wind among the Insurgents of all ranks. The greatest possible state of irritation followed. The Highlanders declared, that they would die fighting; and that when they could defend their posts no longer, they would only then seek a retreat by forcing their way out with their trusty claymores.

In short, the rebel garrison was in the very extreme of confusion. If any one but even hinted at a surrender, he stood a chance of his life being sacrificed on the spot. Nor was this an idle threat. During the commotion, one man was shot dead, and several wounded. Mr Forster was particularly obnoxious to the

Scots; and it was the opinion, that if he had ventured to appear in the streets, he would have been cut to pieces. This division was not a little encouraged by Brigadier Mackintosh, between whom and Forster a mutual and irreconcilable aversion had long subsisted.

During this state of excitement, it was about three in the afternoon, when Colonel Cotton, attended with a dragoon, and a drum in advance beating a chamade, alighted at the sign of the Mitre, where the chief Insurgent officers were then assembled. He told them, that he came to receive their positive answer. They informed him, in reply, that disputes had subsisted among the Scots and the English, the Scots being unwilling to capitulate; but that they desired, until the next morning, time to reconcile the parties, when they hoped to arrange the terms of surrender, agreeably to his proposal.

Upon receiving this answer, Colonel Cotton prepared to return with it for the consideration of General Wills; but, before leaving, he sent the drum to beat a chamade before the doors of some houses from which the Government troops had continued their fire. When the poor fellow proceeded to give the signal of a cessation from arms, he was shot dead upon his horse. Whether this act had been committed through a mistake of the Government troops, or from the indignation of the Insurgents, who were impatient of surrender, was not known.

Shortly afterwards, Colonel Cotton returned to the Mitre, where the Insurgent officers continued to be assembled, with the information that General Wills had allowed them the time requested, provided that the Lords would give their words that they would, from that time, throw up no new works for their defence, and do their utmost that none of their people should make their escape. The Lords, accordingly, pledged themselves to this effect.

(c) THE INFRACTION OF THE ARMISTICE.

But while this conference had been going on, an untoward occurrence took place. About six or seven of the Insurgents,

according to Oldmixon, well armed and mounted, endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted by some of Pitt's horse, and cut to pieces. They were said to have been "people of quality." One of them was Cornet Shuttleworth, who had formerly abjured the Pretender. In his pocket was found James the Third's standard, of green taffety, with a buff coloured silk fringe round it; the device, a pelican feeding her young; with this motto :—

Tantum valet Amor Regis et Patriæ.

Upon Colonel Cotton coming out of town, he professed himself surprised, after the pledge which had been given to him, to find that several rebels were attempting to escape, and that about six of them, in this act, had been cut to pieces.

(d) HOSTAGES REQUIRED FROM THE INSURGENTS.

Upon reporting the breach of the armistice, Colonel Churchhill, about five o'clock, was sent by General Carpenter into the town, accompanied by Colonel Nassau, on the part of Wills. They had, on this occasion, a conference with Captain Dalziel, in which, along with the condition of throwing up no new works, and of attempting no escape, they insisted upon an English Lord and a Scottish Lord being sent in as hostages for its fulfilment. They then named the Earl of Derwentwater, or Lord Widdrington, and Lord Kenmure. Captain Dalziel replied, that he thought Lord Kenmure would not come out.

This conference having been reported to General Carpenter, a reply soon afterwards arrived, that, instead of Lord Kenmure, Brigadier Mackintosh might be sent. To this demand Captain Dalziel replied, that he also would not come out. It was next reported to Colonel Churchhill, at five o'clock, that neither the Earl of Derwentwater nor Lord Widdrington were to be found, and that Mackintosh was gone to bed.

General Carpenter was, however, unwilling to make many difficulties in the affair, particularly as it grew towards night, and, about eight o'clock, he again sent Colonel Churchhill to inform the Insurgents, that either of the two Mackintoshes, and an English Lord, would give satisfaction. Accordingly, upon the

condition which had been previously insisted upon, the Earl of Derwentwater and Colonel Mackintosh came forward, and surrendered themselves to Colonel Churchhill.

In the course of these arrangements, it had been left to Colonel Cotton to receive fresh assurances from the leading Insurgents of the strict observance of the armistice.

Upon arriving at the Inn, he again demanded of the noblemen and gentlemen present, to give their paroles of honour to perform what they, on their part, had promised. One of the gentlemen, in reference to an ultimate surrender, asked, if they might have mercy? "Sir," replied Cotton, in more humane terms than the morose Wills, "that I cannot assure you of; but I know the King to be a very merciful Prince."—[Patten, p. 123.]

The Earl of Derwentwater and Colonel Mackintosh were then conducted as hostages to General Carpenter.

§ 9.—13TH NOVEMBER. THEY SURRENDER AND ARE MADE PRISONERS OF WAR.

And, next morning, the E^{l} Derwentwater & his men surrendrd & were made prisoners of war.

Clarke, too frequently from inadvertence, speaks of the Earl of Derwentwater in the light of the General of the Rebel forces. No doubt the Earl, from his bravery, from his noble rank, and from Forster's incompetency, possessed the greatest influence; but Forster, at least nominally, held the chief command.

At seven o'clock on the following morning (Monday), the armistice expired, when Wills waited to learn the answer of the Insurgents; Colonel Mackintosh, his hostage, being then present.

In the course of conversation, Mackintosh made remarks on the bravery and hardiness of the Scottish troops. Wills very tauntingly and even rudely replied, that he might have proved and tried them if he had pleased, and that it would have then

been seen whether the King's troops, or a parcel of Rebels, would have acted the braver part.

Soon afterwards, a messenger from Forster arrived, who reported, that the Insurgents were willing to give themselves up prisoners at discretion; at the same time, the General's interference for mercy was requested. But the conduct of Wills was unmanly, approaching even to brutality. According to the testimony of Brigadier Munden, Wills received the Rebels who came to treat with him, "with the utmost detestation and contempt," and gave them no hope of mercy, either directly or indirectly.

This treaty, however, to which comparatively few of the Insurgent officers had been privy, did not lessen the general dissatisfaction. This is sufficiently well expressed in the Journal of the Merse Officer:—"Mr Carpenter and Mr Wills patched up a treaty with Mr Forster, without the knowledge of several worthy noblemen and gentlemen. So soon as the capitulation was reported, the Earl of Wintoun, Captain Philip Lockhart, Major Nairn, and Captain Shafto, went to Brigadier Mackintosh, desiring him to allow his foot to flank the hedges on the Lancaster road, while the Scots gentry under the command of the Earl of Wintoun and Mr Charles Radcliffe forced their way through the enemy. The Brigadier told them, 'that it was too late to make such an attempt, especially after hostages were given upon our side.' I know nothing," added the same officer, "of the terms of capitulation, only I heard them, in the general, said to be necessary and honourable by the Earl of Carnwath, and Lord Widdrington and others."

Such was the termination of Preston Fight.—After this result, the Merse Officer, whose invaluable Journal has afforded one of the safest guides in this description of the Insurgent Campaign, immediately dispatched the summary of his observations to Scotland, under the form of a letter, addressed to a Jacobite friend, with the following concluding words: "This is all the matter of fact that can be vouched by, Sir, your most humble Servant," &c.

Lord Forrester had been commissioned to see the terms of the treaty put into execution. Upon arriving at the town, he repaired to the churchyard, where he received the swords of the officers in general; but, for the sake of sparing the Insurgent Lords the humility of a public display of surrender, he adjourned to the Mitre Tavern, where Lord Wintoun and the rest of the noblemen had assembled, and there received their arms.—Lord Widdrington begged that his arms might be presented to Lord Kimmergen.

Colonel Mackintosh, in the mean time, remained with Wills as his hostage. Impatient under the unmanly rebuke which he had received from this General, he ventured to express his opinion, that it was doubtful if the Scots would surrender in the tame manner which was expected from them; for that they were people of desperate fortunes, and that he had been a soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. Upon which Wills replied, "Go back to your people again, and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be, that I will not spare one man of you."

Colonel Mackintosh took the General at his word. But, upon his return to Preston, he found that Lord Kenmure and the rest of the noblemen, and that even his kinsman, the Brigadier, had already surrendered. He was unwilling, therefore, that the treaty should be sacrificed to his own indignant feelings, and, in hastening back to Wills, gave himself up prisoner at discretion, as the rest of the officers had already done.

Soon afterwards General Carpenter entered the town to receive his prisoners. General Wills's party approached by the Lancaster avenue, while Brigadier Honeywood, with the remaining troops, advanced from the opposite extremity leading from Wigan and Manchester. They were preceded by the sound of trumpets and beat of drums. Both parties met in the market-place, where the Insurgent troops were drawn up to surrender their arms.

The Lords, the officers, and the Gentlemen volunteers, were first secured and placed under guard in the most commodious houses, or inns. The Highlanders, and privates in general, then

laid down their arms and were marched off to the church, which was destined, under a strong guard, to be their cheerless prison.

The total number of Scottish prisoners, including all ranks, who surrendered themselves, were 1088; of the English 462. The whole amount was 1550.

§ 10.—THE NUMBERS KILLED AT PRESTON.

By the strictest observa6ion of the numb^{r} of E^{l} Derwentwaters men that were there kiled, were 18 or 19; and of Gen^{r}all Carpenters & Wills men two hundred and seaventy.

The Government return was as follows :—

"Of Colonel Pitt's horse, 1 private man wounded. Of Major General Wynn's dragoons, 6 private men killed, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet, and 21 private men wounded, and 15 horse killed or lost. Of Brigadier Honeywood's dragoons, 5 private men wounded, and 12 horse killed or lost. Of Brigadier Munden's, 12 horse killed or lost. Of Brigadier Dormer's, 3 private men killed, 1 captain and 4 private men wounded, and 16 horse killed or lost. Of Colonel Stanhope's dragoons, 7 private men killed, and 3 wounded, and 17 horse killed or lost. Of Brigadier Preston's foot, 2 captains, 1 ensign, and 37 private men killed; and 2 field-officers, 2 captains, and 1 lieutenant, 4 ensigns, and 43 private men wounded.

Total, 2 captains, 1 ensign, and 53 private men killed, and 2 field-officers, 4 captains, 2 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 cornet, and 77 private men wounded, and 72 horse killed or lost.

"Killed 56, wounded 90; in all 146."

It is curious, however, that although the foregoing list was printed as an official return, there is not a single writer on the events of the Rebellion who has treated it as a veracious document. On the contrary, as much faith has been placed in it, as the English, during the last war, were accustomed to repose in French returns of killed and wounded. During the Whig admi-

nistrations of Anne, George the First, and George the Second, the political satire conveyed in Gay's Beggars' Opera, of "The Ways of the Court" was applicable to the corruption of all or most of the public functionaries under Government, from whom any very correct returns of military casualties were scarcely to be expected.

Patten, who was well informed in the events of Preston Fight, has not paid the slightest deference to the Government statement. He affirms that "of the Rebels there were 17 killed and 25 wounded, and no more, for they were every where under covert." But of the Government returns he speaks very cautiously, notwithstanding his subsequent adhesion to King George. He admits "that there were a great many private men of His Majesty's forces killed; but how many it was hard to determine; that the number had been esteemed above 200, although the public lists said not so many."—[Patten, p. 131.]

Oldmixon, a most partial Whig historian, rated the whole sum of the Government loss, in killed and wounded, at 130, and was even inclined to boast that the Insurgents had, in this respect, suffered to a greater extent than the Government forces. He also ventured to name Preston "The Churchyard of the Scots," as Milan was that of the French nation: "La Cimetière des François."

THE TWO GENRALLS MEN PLUNDER THE TOWN.

After the sd two Genralls men had taken whole pôssion of the sd toune of Preston, they with force and armes broke open doors & locks of chambers and clossetts, and moneys, plate, goods, & chatels of most of the inhabts of that toun (who were & still are good subjects to His Majestys King Georges Government) contrary to the will of the ownrs of the sd goods ffelonyously did steal, take & carry away contrary to His said Majties peace, crown, and dignity, and also contrary to the laws of this nation in that case made and pvided.

This account of the plunder which followed the surrender of the town is transferred from the body of the narrative [page 111], which preceded the present supplement.

Patten declares that the "King's troops began to plunder even before the appointed hour of surrender took place, but that the two Generals having been appealed to, the pillage was restrained." He adds that "they looked upon what they got as their own by rule of war." And no doubt a similar opinion had been entertained by the insurgents of the same rule of war. It was scarcely fair, therefore, in Patten making Brigadier Mackintosh the great criminal in this respect, because he followed out a rule of war which the Government force did not scruple to adopt. What he affirms is very probable, namely, that this old campaigner had plundered a Mr Wyburgh, taken prisoner by the Insurgents, of a watch, which article General Wills made him restore to its owner. But it must be recollected, that Peter Clarke has charged the Government troops with far grosser violations of property, which, apparently, were unrestrained by Wills; while he has availed himself of the occasion to express his professional opinion of the cognisance which the civil laws ought to have taken of this act, which was not even to be justified by a state of rebellious excitement. This legal opinion, Peter Clarke has accordingly considered himself entitled to give, in his capacity of clerk to Mr Crackenthorpe, attorney-at-law in Kendal; and he has laid down the law with all suitable formality, precision, and quaintness.

With the plunder, and with the amount of casualties which occurred at Preston Fight, the narrative of Peter Clarke closes.

While the bloodshed was chiefly felt by those who had fought for the Hanoverian cause, a subsequent sacrifice of life awaited their opponents, in their forthcoming appeal to the retributive laws of England.

This consideration soon became pressed upon humane minds. It was also asked, Why did this occur?

"We are not surprised," said Dr Tennison, in the declaration issued by himself, as Archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with various bishops, "that Papists should rise up against a Government which they would never yet own, and endeavour to set up a person upon the throne who would establish their religion and ruin ours; but that professed members of the Church of England should join with them in this, and, out of private discontents, attempt to set up a person whom they have so often and so lately abjured, is so vile and detestable a thing, as may justly make them odious both to God and man."——"How much blood this may cost, or what ruin it may bring on our country, God only knows! But we think proper to observe to you, that all those must have a share in the guilt of the innocent blood that shall be spilled, not only who actually join in the Rebellion, but who do any way promote it."

That the High Church Tories did not, in the words of the Archbishop, actually join in the Rebellion, but that they otherwise promoted it, is quite evident; while the curious fact which remains, is,—that, after having promised to take their due share in the field of personal danger, they did not keep their appointment, but left the contest to be decided by the Scottish Jacobites and English Roman Catholics, conjointly and exclusively. The derision and indignation from all parties which ensued, remain to be shewn, as well as the damage, perfectly irretrievable, which the High Church Tory influence ever afterwards sustained.

PART V.

LANCASHIRE EVENTS

INTERVENING BETWEEN

THE SURRENDER OF PRESTON,

AND

THE ABANDONMENT OF JACOBITE HOSTILITIES IN SCOTLAND.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. The early contradictory accounts published of Preston Fight.

II. The indecisive Battle of Sheriff-Muir, and the dispiriting effect produced by the result of Preston Fight upon the Jacobite cause in Scotland.

III. The Burial of the Slain; the Prisoners taken at Preston, with the escape of some of them.

IV. Six Insurgent Officers reserved for Trial by Court-Martial; removal of the chief Prisoners to Wigan, preparatory to being sent to London; and the disposal of the mass of them in the jails of Chester, Lancaster, and Liverpool.

V. A Conversation at Wigan, in which Lord Widdrington, Brigadier Mackintosh, and the Earl of Derwentwater took part.

VI. The Party Feuds which succeeded to the frustration of the Jacobite cause at Preston.

VII. The Court-Martial at Preston held on six Insurgent Officers, four of whom were shot.

VIII. The transfer of the chief Prisoners from Wigan to London.

IX. The arrival of the Chevalier St George in Scotland.

X. The Prisoners tried at Liverpool, and their sentences.

XI. The abandonment of Jacobite hostilities in the Scottish Highlands.

XII. Sketch of the more immediate effects in England resulting from the Rebellion of 1715, particularly in the decline of High-Church Tory influence.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY CONTRADICTORY ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED OF PRESTON FIGHT.

It may, perhaps, be curious to notice the very contradictory accounts, which instantly spread north and south, relative to the action. These I am enabled to give, from the records which have been placed in my hands.

Edinburgh, November 16. 1715.—A copy of three letters, giving an account of the total defeat of the Rebels at Prestoun, in Lancashire :—

Carlyle, November 14. 1715.

Sir,—At seven a clock this night, we have the comfortable news of the Rebels in Lancashire being defeated at Prestoun by General Wills and his forces, and that Carpenter came up to compleat the action, as we are informed by several letters from thence to my Lord Lonsdale, and our Governour, the contents of which I have seen, particularly, That Forrester, Darnwater, and the chiefs are killed, and that not many of any rank are escaped. They fought it very desperately, being in the toun of Preston, tho' they had the General's summons to surrender, and might expect the King's clemency. All the accounts agree, that not many of the Rebels have escaped. I am, &c.

(Signed) Jos. Parker.

To the Provost of Dumfries.

Carlyle, November 15. *at 5 in the Morning.*

Sir,—I could but send you an imperfect account, last night, of the Rebels' defeat; but I have, just now, an express, which tells me, that these poor Devils, who escaped slaughter in the town, fled to the church, and begged quarter; but General Wills did not think it consistent with his orders to allow it them. I hope this will prove a decisive stroke to the Rebellion. As early as it is, I have ordered the ringing of the Bells, and other rejoicings will follow. Pray forward this good news to Edinburgh, that the Duke of Argyll may have it as soon as possible. I am, &c.

(Signed) Thos. Stanwix.

Drumfries, November 15. 1715.

My Lord Provost,—At five a clock at night I send you, in haste, this second express, with an account of a compleat victory over the Rebels in Prestoun. We have no more particulars than what the two enclosed copies bear, one from the Governour of Carlyle, the other from my correspondent in Carlyle. It appears there had been a great slaughter among them after they refused to surrender and submit to His Majesty's clemency, which was offered to them by General Wills, and rejected. I am in haste, my Lord, your most humble servant,

(Signed) Robert Corbet.

Directed,—To the Honourable my Lord Provost
of Edinburgh.

Such was the information conveyed from Preston to the north of the kingdom. That which travelled south through Colonel Nassau, who had been despatched by Wills, is a little more accurate. General Carpenter's participation in the affair appears to have been invidiously kept in the shade.

" The confirmation of General Wills and Carpenter's defeating the Rebels at Preston. London, November 15th, 1715.

" Yesterday morning, about ten of the clock, an express arrived here with the following advices, that, on Saturday last, General Wills having come up with the Rebells at Preston, they, at first, stood and fought very boldly. There were above an hundred of Preston's regiment which began the attack killed, of whom was four Captains and three Colonels wounded; but after they fired the town behind the Scots Highlanders, they fled, so that General Wills had entrenchments cast up and surrounded all the rest within the town; upon which they made offer of capitulation, but the General told them he had no power to treat with them but as Rebells. He desired them to surrender to the King's mercy, and he would represent their case in a most favourable manner, and give them to the next day to consider of it. Upon which, on Sunday, the Earl of Derwentwater and Wintoun, with Colonel Mackintosh, surrendered themselves, telling the General that the rest were all ready to do so too. But, after this, five or six fine and well-mounted gentlemen, endeavouring to make their escape from the town, were all killed by the King's forces; and its not yet known who they are. It is said, the number of those that have surrendered is about one thousand seven hundred.

" On Sunday morning, about nine o'clock, Lieutenant-General Carpenter joined them, with three regiments of Dragoons."

[To this account, considered as official, were subjoined various rumours; for

example—" There are 1700 well-armed, and, it is said, betwixt 3000 or 4000 others armed but very indifferently, for they had been reinforced by the Papists and Jacobites of the country. They had several cannon with them, which they had brought from Lancashire and other parts. It's said there are fourteen or fifteen Church of England Clergymen among them," &c.]

CHAPTER II.

THE INDECISIVE BATTLE OF SHERIFF-MUIR, IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS, AND THE DISPIRITING EFFECT PRODUCED BY THE RESULT OF PRESTON FIGHT UPON THE JACOBITE CAUSE IN THE HIGHLANDS.

The 13th of November was an eventful day for the Jacobite cause. The sun set with the surrender of the Insurgent forces at Preston, and with the Battle of Sheriff-Muir in the Scottish Highlands. Upon this day also, Inverness, previously in the possession of the Insurgents, was retaken by Lord Lovat and the clan of Grant.

About the middle and end of October, the Earl of Mar, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Perth, had made various ineffectual attempts to cross the Forth, five or six miles above Stirling, with the view of advancing towards the Scottish metropolis. At length, on the 12th of November, having been strengthened by the Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald, and others, with their respective clans, amounting in the whole to about 9000 men, Mar prepared to march from Perth, in order to join General Gordon and the Western Clans at Auchterarder, with the design of attempting the crossing of the Forth.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the Duke of Argyll, reinforced with field artillery from Edinburgh, resolved to fight the Insurgents before they could cross the Forth at Stirling Bridge, and

advanced towards Dunblane. This occasioned, on Sunday the 13th of November, the general engagement of Sheriff-Muir. The Insurgent forces behaved with uncommon bravery; and if their left wing had not given way, which was occasioned by a mistake of orders and scarcity of experienced officers, the claim of the Earl of Mar to a decisive victory would have remained unchallenged. The Government troops were so far foiled, that they were obliged to again retire to Stirling.

Six days after this engagement, namely on the 19th of November, the Earl of Mar received the letter which Brigadier Mackintosh had written from Preston early on the morning of Sunday the 13th instant, and previous to the arrival of Carpenter, in which he had congratulated His Lordship upon the success of the Insurgent arms the preceding day, and had expressed his sanguine hopes of an ultimate victory over General Wills.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the Earl of Mar gave orders for a public rejoicing on the succeeding day, Sunday; but, in the midst of it the dismal tidings arrived of the surrender of Preston. From that period the army of the Earl of Mar, which had nobly stood its ground after the drawn battle of Sheriff-Muir, became dispirited in the extreme. Many absented themselves after the engagement on various pretences, or went straight home, never to rejoin the Rebel standard.

The excuse made by the Earl of Mar, with much naiveté, for the desertion of his Highlanders was, "that they had an unlucky custom after an action to return home."

Another cause tending to dispirit the army, was the non-arrival of the Chevalier St George, or James the Eighth of Scotland. And, in the mean time, the Highland Chieftains were at an immense expense, far beyond their means, in supporting their followers. This induced "a Grumbling Club" (as it was sneeringly called) to be organised, of which the Marquis of Huntly became the President.

From these causes Mar found, that the number of adherents

upon which he had been enabled to count, was never at any time so great as before the event of the battle of Sheriff-Muir, and of Preston in Lancashire.—[Hist. of Scotland by J. W., M.D., 1724, Patten, Rae, &c.]

CHAPTER III.

THE BURIAL OF THE SLAIN;—THE DISPOSAL OF THE PRISONERS AT PRESTON, WITH THE ESCAPE OF SOME OF THEM;—AND THE NAMES OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS.

But we may now return to the more immediate events of Lancashire, and to the late scene of Rebellion at Preston.

Upon the day of capitulation, General Carpenter found, that Preston was not capable of containing the number of troops who were crowded in it; for which reason he immediately left, with the regiments under his command, for Wigan, there to rest a day or two, while Wills was entrusted with the burial of the slain, and with the charge of the Prisoners.

(a) THE BURIAL OF THE SLAIN.

The burial of the slain on both sides occupied some days. Among the Insurgents, one gentleman of military rank was interred, the services of whom in the Jacobite cause had not been previously much known. This was Colonel Brereton, probably of the Cheshire family of that name, of whom Patten states—"He had formerly served in the army. He had many wounds, one of which, by the vast flux of blood, was not discovered soon

enough by his surgeon, or else it's thought he might have outlived his fate that day. After he was buried, he was taken out of his grave to satisfy the curiosity of a Commanding officer, who could not be persuaded that this gentleman was in the Rebellion."—[Patten's Hist., p. 110.]

(b) THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INSURGENT PRISONERS WERE DISPOSED OF.

After the Insurgent force had surrendered themselves in the market-place, they were disposed of in the following manner:

The Scottish officers and gentlemen were divided into three parties, and sent to the Inns named the Mitre, the White Bull, and the Windmill.

A great number of the Northumberland and Lancashire Gentlemen were confined in Mr Wingleby's house.

The Highlanders, and Privates in general, were placed under a strong guard in the Church, while the town was laid under the obligation to supply the poor fellows with bread and water. It was an unseasonable time of the year for imprisonment within the cold and cheerless aisles of a church, which caused the hapless captives to seek for additional protection from the inclemencies of a November month, by unripping the linings from the seats, or pews, for additional clothing.

To what melancholy reflections must this scene have given rise, when contrasted with the thoughtless gaiety of the few days' sojourn in Preston which preceded the Insurgent capitulation! —a capitulation in which all the fearful results of unsuccessful Rebellion would scarcely fail to be seen in prospective!—To such noblemen as had instigated the Rebellion, forfeiture of title and dignities,—and to all titled, or untitled landed proprietors, forfeiture of estate;—to less dignified insurgents, if they escaped a capital sentence, colonial slavery;—and to all ranks, indiscriminately, the dungeon, and the contingency of the scaffold.

(c) THE ESCAPE OF MANY PRISONERS.

Owing to the gross military inadvertence of Wills, in having omitted to post troops on the side of the town leading to Liverpool, numbers of the Insurgents had found means to escape.

After Preston had been filled with Government troops, escapes became not so numerous. Yet, in many instances, military vigilance was eluded. "There was a Popish Priest," says Patten, "called Littleton. But having a great deal of the Jesuit, he contrived a most excellent disguise; for he put on a blue apron, went behind an Apothecary's counter, and passed for an assistant or journeyman to the Apothecary, and so took an opportunity of getting off."

Peter Clarke, in some marginal remarks appended to his journal, mentions the escape at Preston of an individual named Hilton, alluded to in his work, of a Barber named Gartside (who with another person had been Lancaster recruits), and of "the Mob Colonel" and "Mob Captain" of the Manchester Rioters, whom the Insurgents had released from Lancaster Castle. It appears, however, that these last two individuals were retaken the day following. Another individual who escaped was Dr Walker [alias Alcock], a Physician of Alnwick.

(d) THE NAMES OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS TAKEN AT PRESTON.

Patten has entered into many details relative to the prisoners taken at Preston, which, including seven Lords, and the several officers, gentlemen, privates, and two clergymen, he rated at 1489. The list, however, as given by him, is full of mistakes. A document printed at Edinburgh by "James Moncur 1715" of the number of prisoners, and the quality of them, is a far more authentic document. It seems to have been printed immediately after the surrender had taken place, for the information of such Scotsmen as had friends embarked in the Jacobite cause. As this docu-

ment is a very rare one, a reprint is annexed. It is necessary, however, to observe, that the names of the English Prisoners of quality were miserably deficient in orthography, which I have endeavoured to correct through the medium of other documents. In fact, the printer, as we might naturally expect, endeavoured to attain correctness more in respect to Scottish, than to English names.

A LIST OF THE MOST CONSIDERABLE OF THE SCOTS AND ENGLISH NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN, WITH THE NUMBER OF THEIR SERVANTS, TAKEN PRISONERS AT PRESTON, NOVEMBER 13. 1715.

SCOTS NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN.

Earl of Nithsdale.
Earl of Carnwath.
Earl of Winton.
The Viscount of Kenmure.
Basil Hamilton of Baldoon.
Captain James Dalziel.
William Irving of Knockhill.
Robert M'Clellan of Barscob.
Alex. Murray of Stenhop jun.
Mr John Paterson of Prestonhall.
John Hepburn, son to Keith.
William Anderson.
Mr Cunningham of Barns.
Mr William Maitland.
Mr James Hume of Aiton.
Mr Francis Hume, brother to Wedderburn.
James Dickson.
Robert Crow.
Ninian Brown in Coldstream.
John Cunningham of Woodhall.
Thomas Hume.
Alexander Hume.
Robert Ker.
John Crow.
Alexander Craw of Heughhead.
John Wright.
William Donaldson.
Mr Calderwood in Dalkeith.
Mr Bannerman, son to Mr Robert Bannerman.
James Nicolson.
Alexander Straiton.
Alexander Lowrie.
Mark Cars of Cockpen.
Andrew Cassie of Kirkhouse.
Henry Wilhome.
William Calderwood.
Alexander Forrester of Carsbonny.
John M'Nairn.
Robert Johnston of Wamphray.
Charles Maxwell of Cowhill.
John Murray his brother.
Edmund Maxwell younger of Carnselloch.
Matthew Harestanes, brother to Craigs.
Samuel Maxwell.
John Maxwell of Steilston.
William Maxwell younger of Munshes.
George Maxwell his brother.
Robert Carruthers of Ramerscales.
George Seaton of Barns.
James Maxwell, son to Castlemills.
William Grierson of Lag jun.
Gilbert Grierson his brother.
William Lutheart, late Officer of Excise at Dumfries.
James Graham, son to Mossknowes.
Archibald Todd, portioner of Drumcrief.
William Johnston, portioner of Drumcrief.
Brigadier M'Intosh.
George Carrick, Innkeeper in Dumfries.
David Graham.
David Bruce of Kinnaird.
John Hamilton of Pumpherstoun.
——— Foulis of Ratho.
William Dalmahoy, son to Dalmahoy.
Alexander Dalmahoy, son to Dalmahoy.
George Hume elder of Wedderburn.
George Hume younger
John Winraham, son to Eyemouth.
Robert M'Dullan.
——— Pleshingtoun.
Robert Cantrie.
James Renton of Slaithouses.

George Hume of Whitefield.
Sir William Cockburn of that Ilk.
George Seaton of Garleton.
Walter Riddel of Glenriddel.
Walter Scott of Wall.
James Paterson.
Thomas Dalmahoy, uncle to Dalmahoy.
George Rutherfurd of Fairnton jun.
——— Lauder of Killilung.
James Murray, late in Rivall.
James Reid in Hoddam.
John Mastertoun, merchant in Edinburgh.
Alexander Deans there.
William Dundas, merchant there.
Peter Chalmers, merchant there.
William Seller, writer there.
David Hall, merchant there.
George Skinner, merchant there.
Alexander Congalton, merchant there.
Francis Congalton, chirurgeon there.
Robert Bruce there.
Robert Ramsay there.
Andrew Smith there.
Alexander Alexander, writer there.
Alexander Forrester there.
Andrew Pitcairn, son to Dr Archibald Pitcairn.
Alexander Murray, merchant in Edinburgh.
Captain John Dalziel, brother to the Earl of Carnwath.
Captain Philip Lockhart, brother to the Laird of Carnwath.
Archibald Burnet of Carlops.
Alexander Mill of Newmilns.
James Cornwall of Bonheid.
Major Nairn.
James Shaw of Dalquhairn.
Humphrey Sword at the Bridge of Linlithgow.
Thomas Bowie, son to Bailie Bowie in Falkirk.
James Nisbet, son to James Nisbet, factor to Airth.

OFFICERS OF LOGIE'S REGIMENT.

Captains.

David Drummond.
John Carnegie.
Alexander M'Gregor.
James Drummond.
Alexander Drummond.

Subalterns.

Archibald M'Laughlan.
William M'Gregor.

OFFICERS OF LORD NAIRN'S REGIMENT.

Lord Nairn, Colonel.
John Stewart, Lieut-Col.
John Blair, Major.

Captains.

Alexander Robertson.
James Stewart.
James Robertson.
Archibald Butler.
John Stewart.

Subalterns.

James Ramsay.
Malcolm Stewart.
Alexander Ferguson.
John M'Donald.
John Stewart.
Donald Robertson.
John Stewart.
Robert Menzies.
Robert Robertson.
Robert Stewart.
John Stewart.
Finch Ferguson.
Robert Ferguson.
Archibald Menzies.
Alexander Stewart.
James Ferguson.
Patrick Blair, chirurgeon.

OFFICERS OF MAR'S BATTALION.

Nathaniel Forbes, Major.

Captains.

John Innes.
Donald Ferguson.
John Gordon.

Lieutenants.

John Catanach.
Henry Lumsden.
Robert Gordon.

OFFICERS OF LORD CHARLES MURRAY'S REGIMENT.

Lord Charles Murray, Col.
Master of Nairn, Lieut.-Col.
James Stewart, Major.

Captains.

James Menzies.
Alexander Menzies.
Daniel Robertson.
John Robertson.
Patrick Robertson.

Subalterns.

Robert Menzies.
Adam Reid.
John Stewart.
John Robertson.
John Cameron.
Mr James Stewart.
James Robertson.
John Stewart.
Donald M'Dowal.
John Cummison.
James Robertson.
Gilbert Reid.
Alexander Stewart.
John M'Queen.
Duncan Campbell.
John Robertson.

OFFICERS OF COLONEL M'INTOSH'S REGIMENT.

Colonel M'Intosh.
Lieutenant-Col. Farquharson of Invercauld.
Major John M'Intosh.

Captains.

Lauchlan M'Intosh.
Farquhar M'Gilroy.
Angus M'Bean.
Richard Shaw.
Duncan M'Intosh.
William M'Intosh.
Fergus M'Intosh.
Lauchlan M'Intosh.
Francis Farquharson.
Lauchlan M'Lean.
John Farquharson.
William M'Gilroy.

Subalterns.

John M'Bean.
Angus Shaw.
Ben. M'Intosh.
Will. M'Queen.
John M'Intosh.
Donald M'Intosh,
John Abercromby.
David Stewart.
Daniel Grant, Adjutant.
D. M'Queen, pay-master.
Will. Shaw, quartermaster.
Mr John M'Intosh, advocate, Lieutenant, aide-de-camp.

Ensigns.

Allan M'Lean.
James M'Intosh.
William M'Gilroy.
Hugh Fraser.
Daniel Shaw.
John M'Intosh.
Duncan M'Intosh.
Dougal M'Queen.
Lauchlan M'Intosh.
Patrick M'Shoull.
William Nilln.
John Dunbar.
Colin Tallines.

OFFICERS OF STRATHMORE'S BATTALION.

Captains.

William Douglas of Glenbervie.
William Miller.
George Scrimgeour.
James Balfour.

Lieutenants.

William Lyon.
Alexander Orrock.
John Burnes.

Ensigns.

Patrick Douglas.
Henry Ker.
Alexander M'Gibbon.
Andrew Ramsay.
Henry Ogilvy.
Will. Henderson, quartermaster.

Scots Noblemen and Gentlemen taken at Preston, . .	224
Their Servants, ...	86
Taken at Lancaster of Gentlemen not here named, . .	15
Private Men left prisoners at Preston, . . .	778
Scots in all, . .	1103

OF ENGLISH NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN.

Earl of Derwentwater.
Lord Widdrington.
Mr Forster.
Mr Edward Howard.
Charles Radcliffe.
Charles Widdrington.
Walter Tancred.
John Thornton.
Peter Widdrington.
Charles Wogan.
John Clavering.
John Clavering.
Nicholas Wogan.
John Talbot.
James Talbot.
Robert Talbot.
Roger Salkeld.
George Collingwood.
John Hunter.
Edward Ord.
William Tunstall.
William Shaftoe.
Edward Shaftoe.
Alexander Deasiness.
John Shaftoe.
John Shaftoe.
Edward Swinbourn.
James Swinbourn.
George Gibson.
Edward Byras.
Richard Stokoe.
William Charleton.
Edward Charleton.
Charles Chorley.
Richard Chorley.
Ralph Standish.
Sir Francis Anderton.
Richard Townley.
John Dalton.
John Leybourn.
Gabriel Hesketh.
Cuthbert Hesketh.
Thomas Walton.
Edward Tildsley.
Thomas Errington.
Philip Hudson.
George Budden.
John Cotton.
Robert Cotton.
Richard Gascoigne.
John Hunter.
William Hardwick.
Richard Butler.
Robert Patten.
William Craster.
Thomas Lisle.
Thomas Forster.
William Raine.
Thomas Riddle.
Henry Widdrington.
Richard Ord.
William Sanderson.
George Sanderson.

John Towle.	Edward Mackay.	John Crofts.
John Hodersale.	Henry Oxburgh.	Robert Douglas.
Francis Thornburrow.	William Dobson.	John Masterson.
John Hall.	John Beaumont.	

English Noblemen and Gentlemen, ...	74
Their Servants,*	83
Private Prisoners in Preston Church, . . .	305
Gentlemen taken at Lancaster not named here, . .	4
English in all, . .	466
Scots and English taken in all, .	1569

CHAPTER IV.

THE DETENTION OF SIX INSURGENT OFFICERS AT PRESTON FOR TRIAL BY COURT-MARTIAL; THE REMOVAL OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS TO WIGAN PREPARATORY TO THEIR BEING SENT TO LONDON; AND THE DISPOSAL OF THE MASS OF THEM IN THE JAILS OF CHESTER, LANCASTER, AND LIVERPOOL.

Colonel Nassau, who had been despatched to London with the news of the surrender of the Rebels, was sent back to Preston on the day after his arrival, with orders concerning the disposal of the prisoners. As six of the Insurgent officers had previously been in the service of Government, Colonel Nassau was accom-

* The names of 81 "English followers or servants" appear in Patten's History of the Rebellion, 2d Edition, p. 153.

N.B. In the above list, the very few corrections which have been made are on the authority of other documents considered authentic.

panied by a Deputy from the Judge Advocate, bearing with him a commission for trial, by court-martial, of the officers charged with deserting and taking up arms against King George.

(a) THE REMOVAL OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS TO WIGAN.

Before the trial commenced, General Wills thought it advisable, on account of the interest which the trial was likely to excite among the Insurgents, to send some of the leading officers to Wigan on their route to London, and to dispose of a few others, as well as the greatest part of the privates, in the prisons of Chester, Lancaster, and Liverpool. Such of the Highland and Northumbrian chiefs as were destined for Wigan, commenced their march, under a strong guard, upon Sunday the 21st of November. On Tuesday, the 23d, they were followed by the Lancashire gentlemen. The whole remained at Wigan until Thursday the 25th.

(b) ESCAPE OF A FEW PRISONERS FROM WIGAN.

During this detention at Wigan, Mr Thornburrow, son of William Thornburrow, Esq. of Selset Hall, near Kendal, made his escape. This is related by Peter Clarke in the following marginal note appended to his Journal:—

Mr Thornburrow was taken at Preston & brought to Wigan, & hapnd to see two other prisonrs there bribe ye centinel. So they made escape & one houre after he tould ye centinel what he saw. So ye centinel let him make his escape in woomens cloaths.

(c) THE PRISONERS SENT FROM PRESTON TO LANCASTER.

It has just been stated, that about the time when the leading

Rebel chiefs were sent off to Wigan, namely, the 23d of November, the remaining prisoners were distributed under escorts among the jails of Lancaster, Chester, and Liverpool. We shall, therefore, now follow them to these destinations, commencing our inquiries at Lancaster.

Mr Baines, in his Lancashire History (vol. iv., p. 532), states the number of prisoners sent to Lancaster at 230. More precise details, however, regarding the Lancaster captives are supplied in a MS. journal, written by William Stout of Lancaster. "After the Rebellion was suppressed," says the writer, "about 400 of [the Rebels] were brought to Lancaster Castell, and a regiment of Dragoons quartered in the town to guard them. The King allowed them each 4d a-day for maintenance, viz., 2d. in bread, 1d. in cheese, and 1d. in small beer. And they laid in straw in stables most of them." . . . "While they were here, I was employed to buy cheese for them, about 2 or 300 weight a week of about 12s. or 14s. a hundred. Besides the King's allowance, they had suplys privately from the Papists and Disaffected, so as to live very plentifully."

(d) THE PRISONERS SENT TO CHESTER.

Of the numbers sent to Chester no information whatever appears. This prison must have been ill-guarded, as several prisoners, according to Patten, made their escape from it. Among them were, 1st, John Talbot, of Cartington, in Northumberland, said to have been a brave young gentleman, whose father made himself famous for his courage at the siege of Buda, but was killed; 2d, Roger, second son of Sir Richard Salkeld, of Whithall, in Cumberland, a Roman Catholic; and, 3d, William Sanderson, of High Lee, Northumberland, an accomplished gentleman.—[See Patten's History, p. 141.]

(e) THE PRISONERS SENT TO LIVERPOOL.

The number sent to the prison of this town is not recorded.

Patten mentions some Rebel officers as having made their escape, either from Chester or Liverpool prison. Of these was a Mr John Beaumont, a Roman Catholic; also Captains Hunter and Douglas, who each had the command of a Northumbrian troop. The two latter, Hunter and Douglas, were Borderers,—too often stigmatised as Border Robbers,—and they were among the bravest of Preston Fight. From their early habits in forays, it had been pleasantly said of them, "Let but Hunter and Douglas, with their men, quarter near General Carpenter, and, in faith, they'll not leave them a horse to mount on."

It had been also a great cause of congratulation to the Borderers of peaceful and industrious habits, that Douglas and Hunter should have taken with them to the Rebel wars so many broken men of the country, among whom had been a notorious horse-stealer, nick-named "Luck-in-a-bag." "It is an ill wind blows nobody profit," said a Border farmer; "for now I can leave my stable door unlocked, and sleep sound, since LUCK-IN-A-BAG and the rest are gone."—[Patten, p. 64.]

That Douglas and Hunter, the most notorious of Border robbers (as they were called), should have effected their escape from the ill-constructed prisons of that time, can excite no surprise whatever.

Among the Insurgents who became inmates of the prison at Liverpool, were Richard Chorley of Chorley, Esq., and his son, Mr Charles Chorley. The father, an aged man, having fallen ill at Wigan, was not sent forward to London with the rest of the prisoners, but was allowed to remain in Lancashire.

CHAPTER V.

A CONVERSATION AT WIGAN, IN WHICH LORD WIDDRINGTON, BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH, AND THE EARL OF DERWENTWATER, TOOK PART.

It has been stated that, while the Insurgents in general were removed to the prisons of Chester, Lancaster, and Liverpool, most of the leaders were transferred to Wigan.

Notwithstanding some few escapes had taken place in this town, the Lords and many of the chief prisoners had the permission continued them, when accompanied with sentinels, to visit their friends in misfortune. Brigadier Mackintosh, in availing himself of this indulgence, paid his respects to the Lords at their quarters, when (to his surprise, no doubt) his military talents in conducting the engagement at Preston were scrutinised by a nobleman, who, during that struggle, had confined himself to his room, on the plea of a fit of the gout; and even if he had been enabled to bestir himself, possessed no military experience, or talents whatever.

The officers who took part in this conversation were, Brigadier Mackintosh, Lord Widdrington, and the gallant Earl of Derwentwater.

The character of Brigadier Mackintosh has been pretty fully developed in the course of the campaign. Peter Clarke, in his narrative, has on two occasions described this veteran as looking very grim. There can be little doubt, but that much of this austerity of countenance resulted from the disappointment which he

felt, from having been associated with such an inefficient and blundering commander as Forster proved himself to have been. He had also, in the course of the expedition, been obliged to co-operate with, and even to obey, officers of no military experience whatever, by whom he was thwarted in the midst of the very best plans and manœuvres, the drift of which these self-created soldiers could not properly comprehend. Having, therefore, and perhaps naturally so, exhibited much impatience under such serious annoyances, no wonder that he should have created to himself enemies, by whom every moral failing was held up to reproach.

And what was the military science of the censorious Nobleman, who had rashly taken upon himself to catechise the Brigadier?

It had been a standing joke against Lord Widdrington, that, in the course of his campaigning, he could never travel without strong soup in a bottle; and that no officer, wherever he came, could be in want of this nourishing beverage. This nobleman, however (and it ought in justice to be explained of him), did not pretend to be himself much versed in military matters; and, therefore, was led on all occasions by the counsel of Colonel Oxburgh, whom Patten has described, as "a mighty zealous man in his religion (the Roman Catholic), quiet in his conversation, and more of the priest in his appearance than the soldier." As this was the case, it may be possible that Lord Widdrington had been prompted in his interrogatories by his military adviser.

Another of the Insurgent Chiefs present during the conversation, was the Earl of Derwentwater. But this nobleman was less intent upon canvassing the policy of frustrated military plans, than of ruminating over the treachery (for such he was pleased to call it) of the High Church Tories, in having failed to bring their promised numbers into the field, in aid of the Jacobite cause.

Patten has thrown the whole of the conversation into such a dramatic form, that with scarcely any thing more than an alteration of the personal pronoun "he" for "I," the conversation will stand reported after the following manner:

Scene—A room in the quarters of the Insurgent Lords at Wigan. Brigadier Mackintosh, attended with a sentinel, is announced as coming to pay his respects to these noblemen. The Lord Widdrington invites the Brigadier to take a chair near him.

Lord Widdrington [to a gentleman preparing to leave the room].—Cousin Tom, pray stay a little, for I have a mind to ask some questions of the Brigadier.—[To Mackintosh] Brigadier, the reason why I did not expose myself, as I ought to have done, was owing to my indisposition, occasioned by the gout.—But pray,—you that had been at the head of your men, and had viewed the bridge over the Ribble, why did you not defend it,—being a matter of no great difficulty to have maintained that important pass?

Brigadier Mackintosh.—It was not maintainable, my Lord, because the river was fordable at several places.

Lord Widdrington.—Again let me ask you, why you did not make your barricade at the extreme end of the town, which would have prevented the king's forces from taking possession of those houses below your barrier, which was a great way up the town?

Brigadier Mackintosh.—My Lord, at the extreme end of the town there are so many lanes and avenues, that to defend them would have required more men than I had.

Lord Widdrington.—Why then did you not sally out yourself with your men? Or why would you not obey Mr Forster, who would have had the horse to have sallied out?

Brigadier Mackintosh.—If the foot, my Lord, had sallied out, they might by that means have been parted from the horse, and so have been left naked to be cut off. Besides, nothing frightens the Highlanders more than horse and cannon. As for obeying Mr Forster in letting the horse sally out,—if the horse had attempted any such thing, they would have had to go through the fire of my men. In fact, it was the fear of my men, that the horse really designed such a thing, and, if they had been enabled to make a retreat, the Highlanders would have been left pent up in the town.

The Earl of Derwentwater [taking little or no notice of the Brigadier, but turning to a gentleman in the company].—You see what we have brought ourselves to, by giving credit to our neighbour Tories, as Will Fenwick, Tate, Green, and Allgood. If you outlive this misfortune, and return to live in the North, I desire you never to be seen to converse with such rogues in disguise, that promised to join us, and animated us to rise with them.

Gentleman.—My Lord, I promise to obey you.

The Earl of Derwentwater.—Ah! I know you to be of an easy temper.

And thus ended the conversation.—Brigadier Mackintosh and Lord Widdrington "part without shew of much concern for the loss of each other's company."—[Patten's Hist., &c., pp. 133-5.]

But, in taking our leave of discussions relative to the policy of the military plans which had been pursued, the charge of the Earl of Derwentwater against the High Church Tories next deserves attention. This will be treated of in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTY FEUDS WHICH SUCCEEDED TO THE FRUSTRATION OF THE JACOBITE CAUSE AT PRESTON.

Under this head, may be noticed the loud complaints against the High Church Tories for the inefficient support which they rendered to the Jacobite cause in Lancashire, and the exultation expressed by the religious parties of Lancashire, named the Independents, at the feuds then subsisting among the High Church Tories, the Roman Catholics, and the Scottish Presbyterians.

(a) THE COMPLAINTS UTTERED AGAINST THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES BY THE ROMAN CATHOLICS, THE SCOTTISH JACOBITES, AND OTHERS.

It will be recollected that the Scottish Insurgents would have confined their operations to the Scottish Highlands, and would never have entered England, if it had not been for the inducement held out to them by the High Church Tories of Lancashire, that, upon entering their county, they would be joined by a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. The utter failure of this promise of support, to which the disasters of the campaign were freely attributed, excited in the minds of the unfortunate Insurgents who had surrendered themselves as captives in Preston, an indignation which gave itself vent in the most violent exclamations against

the pusillanimity of the party, by whose specious promises they had been betrayed.

The Highlanders, whose support in the battle of Sheriff-Muir would have been invaluable to the Earl of Mar, if they had followed the fortunes of their leader among their own native mountains, were, perhaps, the most entitled to complain of false friends and allies;—which feeling they had never neglected an opportunity to express, in bitter terms of disappointment and indignation, against the High Church Tories.

But the Roman Catholic prisoners were, if possible, still more violent at the High Church party, which had induced them to rise in such numbers. This sentiment, the Earl of Derwentwater, one of the wealthiest of English noblemen, who had made such enormous sacrifices for the Jacobite cause, was the first to loudly express. In the very earliest account which was transmitted to London of the success of the Government troops in Lancashire, it was stated, "that the Earl of Derwentwater complained heavily of his having been villainously used by the High Church party, who had engaged him and other Papists to come in to their support, and who had promised to join them with considerable numbers, but had now left them in the lurch."

It must, however, be recollected, that a few High Church Tories were still to be found among the Insurgent ranks. That the number was trivial in comparison with that of the Roman Catholics, is quite certain. We must, therefore, suppose, that there had been a coalition in sentiment, less than in active and perilous service, between the Roman Catholics and the High Church Tories of Lancashire.

Among such of the few High Church Tories as had joined in the Rebellion, the majority appears to have come from Northumberland, among whom were Forster and his chaplain, the Rev. Robert Patten. The latter, in his History of the Rebellion, warmly takes up the charge of the Roman Catholics and the Highlanders, in protesting against the disappointment of their hopes; while he attributes the cause to a sort of wine-created valour, with which High Church Tories had been inspired during the routine of tavern

ebullitions of Jacobitism. "Healths and full bumpers," as he observed, "were tossed about with distinguished names, characters, and wishes; and concluded with confusion, damnation, and destruction to others whom they durst not name."

Upon this display of Jacobite zeal, it appears that the few unfortunate High Church Tories from Northumberland, who appeared in arms, had mainly depended. This is evident from the violent tone of indignation expressed by Patten, in his remarks upon the disappointment felt on the march by the Scottish gentlemen, that they were joined by Roman Catholics, to the exclusion of High Church. "That party," says Patten, "who are never right hearty for the cause till they are mellow, as they call it, over a bottle or two, began now to shew us their blind side; and that is just their character, that they do not care for venturing their carcases any farther than the tavern. There, indeed, with their High Church and Ormond, they would make men believe, who do not know them, that they would encounter the greatest opposition in the world; but, after having consulted their pillows, and the fume a little evaporated, it is to be observed of them, that they generally become mighty tame, and are apt to look before they leap, and, with the snail, if you touch their houses, they hide their heads, shrink back, and pull in their horns. I have heard Mr Forster say he was blustered into this business by such people as these, but that, for the time to come, he would never again believe a drunken Tory."—[Patten's History, &c., 2d Ed., p. 100.]

This very rude accusation (to say the least of it) is quoted with reluctance. The party, thus censured, was certainly notorious, even so late as the year 1745, for tavern convivialities and conspiracies. But it is quite possible, that there might have existed among the High Church Tories another conspiring cause, not of very easy detection, yet lurking unconsciously in the recesses of the human mind, to which their inactivity in the field of warfare was reasonably attributable.—This will form the subject of future inquiry.

(b) THE EXULTATION EXPRESSED IN LANCASHIRE BY THE RELIGIOUS SECTS NAMED THE INDEPENDENTS, AT THE FEUDS THEN SUBSISTING AMONG THE HIGH CHURCH TORIES, THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS, AND THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

While these three powerful sects were indulging in the most painful charges and recriminations against each other, we may now inquire, under what light such disputes were contemplated by certain sects, who, in Lancashire and elsewhere, were, about this time, reviving in popularity and in numbers.

But, previously, a little historical explanation may be necessary.

During the Great Rebellion many different sects had risen into existence, which, although widely differing from each other, were not disposed to favour Popery under any form. Of these multitudinous sects, a few only, survived down to the 18th century. These were the Independents, properly so called, the Quakers, and Baptists. As they were severally opposed to any State establishment of religion whatever, and to any church government, except one that was congregational, they were often classed together under the common name of Independents, expressive of the question on which they were all unanimous, namely, in their independence of any State religion whatever.

In Lancashire, there existed a few of these Independents, who, in the Rebellion of 1715, were anxious to prove, with what indifference they were disposed to regard the struggle of that period, except that it brought into collision, to their great joy, three State religions, namely, the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, and the Church of Rome.

This is shewn in the following sneering and vituperative letter, professed to have been written by a Quaker of Liverpool, yet evidently emanating from an Independent partizan. It is given to illustrate the state of parties in Lancashire, certainly not for its point or humour, which is of a very coarse description.

In the last three lines, the writer has made known how immaterial it was to the Independents, whether Rehoboam, or Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, was the ruler, or who were their kings and priests.

LETTER FROM A QUAKER IN LANCASHIRE, TO HIS FRIEND AT BERWICK, CONCERNING THE TIMES.

LAVERPOOL, 19 of the 9th Month
of the Year called 1715.

FRIEND WILLIAM,

I hope thou art now fully convinced that these Backsliders from the Truth, who prophanely call themselves the Church of England, and the Kirk of Scotland, are nothing but the Worshippers of Baal and Dagon, and thy inward Light, will plainly shew thee, that if their Tithes be taken from them, these Priests will turn Boars and Wolves to suck out the Heart Blood of the Deluded Flock: They have the subtility of the old Serpent in their Blasphemy and Cursing, which is by them called Preaching, to turn the Brains of their Giddy Hearers, making them believe Lyes that they all may be Damned. If their private Interest is in the least touched, immediately the Ecclesiastick Drum is beaten, and Anathema Maranatha is the Word for those who will not go out to Fight the Battles of the LORD against the Mighty. These Sons of Belial are now knocking their Heads one against another, but let us, who are the true Enlightned, rejoice.

Thy Ungodly Kinsman who sojourneth here, Joseph Fallman, who is a Worshipper of the Scarlet Colloured Whore, is sick almost unto Death, for the Defeat of his Friends at Preston.

Roger, the High Church Man, laughs yet, and says all will be well, and that the Covenanters will fall before them.

The Pagans who descended from the high Mountains of Scotland, play'd the Devil under Command of one M'Intosh, who may be compared to Belzebub, the God of Ekron.

Fare thee well! all the Congregation of the Faithful, wish thee Health. Several of the Sisters long much to be Refreshed with thy presence.

Notwithstanding of all our care, we hear that one of our Sisters named Hannah, whom we hoped would have held forth one of these days, Alas! she has fallen down beneath one of the half Naked Brauny Pagans, tho' its hoped she may rise again, yet she cannot be received into our Bosom, till she be twin'd of the Bloody Offspring of that Anakite.

Keep thy Garments clean, and neither trouble thee whether Rehoboam, or Jeroboam, the Son of Nebat, be the Ruler, and learn to be as Indifferent about their Kings and Priests, as thy

Friend,

GABRIEL DUTTON.

To WILLIAM BRADINE,
Clothier at Berwick.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INSURGENT OFFICERS TRIED AT PRESTON BY COURT-MARTIAL, OF WHOM FOUR WERE SHOT.

It was stated, in the Fourth Chapter of this Part, that a deputy from the Judge Advocate, bearing with him a Commission for the trial, by Court-Martial, of the officers charged with deserting and taking up arms against King George, had arrived.

On the 28th of November, the Court-Martial began to sit, when the following Prisoners were brought before them :

1st, Major Nairn, son of Bailie Nairn of Edinburgh. He had formerly served in Lord Mark Kerr's regiment.

2d, Captain Philip Lockhart, brother to the Laird of Carnwath. He had also served in Lord Mark Kerr's regiment. Patten says that he was a young gentleman of a comely appearance, who had given several instances of his bravery.

3d, Ensign Erskine, previously of Preston's regiment.

4th, Captain John Shaftoe, son of Edward Shaftoe, Gentleman of Northumberland. The father was much advanced in years, and had also been in the Rebellion. Captain Shaftoe had formerly served in Franks' regiment, and was then on Half-pay. It was through his activity and persuasion that two others of the name had been induced to join. These were William Shaftoe, Esquire, the head of the Bavington family, and his son Mr John Shaftoe.

5th, Captain James Dalziel, brother to the Earl of Carnwath. He had previously been an Ensign in the Earl of Orkney's regiment, and was a bold and brave officer.

6th, Lord Charles Murray, younger son of the Duke of Atholl.

Of these trials we have hitherto known very little more, than that four of the officers were shot, that one was acquitted, and that a sixth was reprieved. Whether Whig Historians were ashamed of a proceeding as illegal as it was sanguinary, and, for this reason, were prudently disposed to merely glance at the trial and sentence, it is not for me to decide. I shall, however, relate all the particulars with which these writers have hitherto favoured us, preparatory to the publication of a document, in which the transaction does not appear under the most merciful form.

The particulars to be collected from the common historians of that time and date, namely, Oldmixon, Patten, Rae, &c., are to the following effect:

Major Nairn, Captain Philip Lockhart, Ensign Erskine, and Captain John Shaftoe, were shot.

Captain Dalziel proved, that he had thrown up his commission previously to the Rebellion, and that before he took up arms in the rebellion the vacancy had been filled up. By this defence he saved his life

Lord Charles Murray pleaded, that before he entered into the Rebellion, he had made over his Commission of Cornet of Horse to a relative, and that he had never received any pay from, nor sworn allegiance to, the Government of England. But as he failed during his trial of bringing any exculpatory evidence, he was condemned to be shot. "When he was sensible he was to die," says Patten, "being removed to the house of Mr Wingilby, with the other Half-pay officers, he kept a true decorum suitable to the nobleness of his mind, and the bravery of his soul, and not unsuitable to the circumstances he was in." It is added that the Court-Martial, who were much interested with his youthful and gallant demeanour, postponed his execution for a month; and that eventually, through the interest of his friends, the life of Lord Charles was saved.

These are the whole of the details of this court-martial which have hitherto appeared in history.

It fortunately happens, however, that a very full statement of the trial and execution of the four young Insurgent officers was printed in the North for circulation among the Jacobites of Scotland, as well as among the officers in the Earl of Mar's camp, then at Perth. A copy of this document is subjoined:

"A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN PRESTOUN, TO HIS FRIEND IN THE KING'S CAMP AT PERTH.

"Before this comes to your hands, you will probably have heard of the fatal exit of the officers taken at Prestoun. But, because you and your friends may be curious to know the particulars of it, I thought it proper to acquaint you, that after these gentlemen were unfortunately made prisoners, they were, so soon as known, clapped up in prison, and narrowly watched till the council of war (by directions from London) sate on them upon Monday, the 28th of November.

"Mr Dalziel replied, that he had laid down his commission, and that the vacancy was filled up before he took arms; which being sustained, he was absolved from being guilty of desertion.

"Lord Charles Murray alleged, he had never acted under, received any pay from, nor sworn to the present government of England. However, he was condemned to die for desertion. But, in regard to his defences, and that he threw himself on King George's mercy, the Council at War postponed his execution for a month; which, we are told, the Court at London is much offended at.

"Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Mr Shaftoe, and Mr Erskine, were also condemned to be shot next day. But General Wills, on the application of Mr Nairn (the Major's father), reprieved them till Thursday, and then to Friday, and gave all the necessary orders for forwarding the express which Mr Nairn sent to London. But no return being come within that time, he would not delay it any longer, unless they would acknowledge they had been guilty of rebellion, and beg King George's mercy,

which they refusing to do, though even a remission were offered them on these terms, the sentence was executed, and these four gentlemen shot upon Friday the 2d instant. And, indeed, a further delay had been of little value, for the return, when it did come, brought peremptory orders for their execution.

"Mr Nairn and Mr Lockhart denied they were guilty of desertion, since they had no commission from, nor trust under, the present Government; the regiment to which they belonged, having been broken several years ago in Spain. And, though they had received half-pay, they looked on it as no more than a gratuity and reward for the hazards they had run, and the fidelity they had shewn, to their late mistress Queen Anne, of glorious memory, to whom they had been faithful servants.

"And it seems they were not singular in this opinion; for, we are assured, that when this affair was debated in the Privy Council at London, several of the Lords were of opinion, that these gentlemen could not be tried as deserters by a Council of War, but by the usual, proper civil judicatories, and not by the martial, but by the common law of the land. And, particularly, the Lord Cowpar, Lord High Chancellor, was of this opinion, and desired to know, if any of these half-pay officers could, by the martial law, be admitted to sit and vote in a Court-martial? And being answered, that they could not, his Lordship thence inferred, that neither were they within the jurisdiction of a Court-martial. But as the Council, so the Court-martial (ye may be sure) was of another mind, and had no regard to this defence. Whereupon these gentlemen added, that they did not repent nor deny the part they had acted, for they had taken up arms to restore their lawful Prince to his crown, and to redeem their country from the slavery to which it was reduced by the Union; and, if they had a thousand lives, they would do it over again, though they were sure to have the same fate.

"The day before the execution, the ministers of Prestoun came and exhorted them to repent for their sins, and particularly that great sin of rebellion, for which they were to suffer. They replied, that they were sensible they had been great sinners in

the sight of God, of which they heartily repented, and trusted in the merits of Christ to obtain pardon, and would willingly discourse with, and hear him on that subject; but for the sin of rebellion, they had fully considered the part they had acted before they had undertaken it, and since they were prisoners, and were fully satisfied they had no more than done their duty, and were nowise guilty of rebellion, and since such was the will of God, they were ready to seal it with their blood.

" After this manner, with the greatest shew of devotion, the firmest resolution, and the most Christian resignation, did they behave themselves, from the first of their misfortunes till they paid their last debt to nature.

" It was not without great difficulty and much intercession, that the first two" [Major Nairn and Captain Lockhart] " were allowed each a coffin, and a Christian, decent burial; but these, for what reasons I know not, were refused to the other two.

" When they came to the place of execution, Major Nairn, who was to be shot first, desired his face might not be covered, and to have the liberty to give the word of command;—but he was refused.

" After he was shot, Captain Lockhart would not suffer any of the common soldiers to touch his friend's body, but, with his own hands and the help of the other two gentlemen, laid Major Nairn in his coffin, and, with the greatest composure of mind, performed the last offices to his dear companion: After which, he was shot, and the other two performed the like to his body.

" Then the others were shot, and laid together, without a coffin, in a pit digged for that purpose. Which tragical scene being thus finished, Mr Nairn and Mr Lockhart were decently buried.

" I had no acquaintance either of Mr Erskine, or Mr Shaftoe, but all to whom the other two were known, will acknowledge, their loss is national. For, as they were both very personable gentlemen, in the flower and vigour of their youth, of sweet dispositions, fine spirits and well accomplished, they were the delight

of all their companions, and much esteemed in the army. And it is more than probable, that their worth and merit, and the service they might have done to the cause they espoused (having the reputation of diligent, experienced, and gallant officers), rendered the English government inexorable, and procured their untimely end; which, I dare say, will be regretted by all that knew them, and by all that love their country.

" But now, to leave this melancholy story (which I have from undoubted authority, as I have related it), I will only add, that this is a swatch of the usage people may expect that fall into some men's clutches, from whom all good Christians and true Scotsmen should fervently pray, that God, out of his infinite goodness and mercy, would deliver every honest man!

" And so I take my leave of you for this time, and am yours.

" POSTSCRIPT.*

" This letter hath been transmitted to this place from one whose veracity cannot be distrusted, and we have thought fit to publish it to the world, in order to perpetuate the memory of those brave gentlemen, whose glorious deaths, we are sure, all men of honour, whatever party they may be engaged in, must ever admire. And we are so far from being apprehensive, that the cruelty of our enemies should have the effect, or influence, designed by them, upon the minds of those who are yet in arms against us, and their own consciences, that, on the contrary, we are persuaded such barbarous treatment will infallibly raise in their hearts a just indignation against, and aversion from a cause, which, they see, cannot be supported by more humane methods. If death must be the event, as it is threatened on both sides, it is yet in their power to choose, whether they had best die, as Mr Lockhart, Mr Nairn, &c., with a full conviction of their innocence, or, as too many of their acquaintances have already done, in the field of battle, fighting in opposition to the conviction of

* This postscript was probably written by the gentleman in the Earl of Mar's camp, to whom the letter was addressed.

their own minds,—that is, their God, their King, their country, and the best and bravest of their countrymen, relations, and friends."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRANSFER OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS FROM WIGAN TO LONDON.

We may now resume the narrative of the chief Insurgents.

On the 25th of November, the Wigan prisoners were divided into four parties, and sent, under the guard of several detachments, to Warrington.

The number destined for London, including many Highland officers and servants, of whom no list was given, is said to have much exceeded a hundred. Among the Lancashire gentlemen who were prisoners, appear the names of Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, Ralph Standish of Standish, Richard Townley of Townley, Tildesley of the Lodge, Richard Dalton of Thurnham, and Butler of Rawcliffe.

The prisoners, after having remained one night at Warrington, proceeded on their journey to London, under a strong guard of Stanhope's dragoons. The indulgence of a carriage was conceded to the Earl of Derwentwater, and probably to the other noblemen.

At Coventry, the escort party was relieved by Brigadier Ponton, Lieut.-Colonel of Lumley's horse, who, with a detachment of 100 troopers, harshly fulfilled his duty. While marching over a heath, where an assemblage of country people was crowding to

get a glimpse of the Rebels, one of the Highlanders called out to the spectators, "Where are all your High Church Tories? If they would not fight for us, why do they not come and rescue us?" Upon uttering these words, certainly indiscreet, the poor fellow was condemned to dismount, and walk on foot pinioned.—[Patten, p. 135.]

At Daventry, Mr Forster, from his having been the Rebel General, as well as his chaplain, the Rev. Robert Patten, were particularly singled out, and confined in the guard-room all night, no one having been allowed to speak to them; which treatment was continued through the remaining part of the route. "While other prisoners were conducted loose and untied on horseback," said Patten, "he and I were distinguished from the rest, by our horses being led by troopers, with halters upon our horses' heads."

At St Albans, Forster was taken so ill, from having been obliged to lie on the damp ground, that he was allowed a coach. It had been falsely reported that he had taken poison.

At Barnet, from which they set out on the 9th of December, new hardships awaited the prisoners, preparatory to their entrance into London. For the sake of distinction, and to gratify the vindictive feelings of the populace, they were pinioned with cords, while most of their horses were led either by foot soldiers, or by country fellows who owned the horses.

At Highgate, Brigadier Ponton consigned his prisoners into the hands of Major-General Tatton, Lieut.-Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, at the head of a detachment of about three hundred Foot Guards and a hundred and twenty grenadiers.—[Oldmixon, p. 619.] The prisoners were here ranged into four divisions, in reference to the four different prisons to which they were destined. Each division was placed between a party of Horse Grenadiers and a platoon of Foot Guards, while each prisoner had his horse led by one of the Foot.

The Drums then beat a triumphant march, and, as the procession moved on, the sight of it seems to have so cheered the

heart of a Whig Historian, Oldmixon, that, in a paroxysm of delight, he has thus expressed himself: " Bating some circumstances of pomp and magnificence, it revived the idea of the triumph of ancient Rome !"

Along the whole of the Route from Highgate to London, the road was crowded with multitudes of spectators on foot, on horseback, or in coaches, exclaiming, " No Popish Pretender !"—" Down with the Rebels !"—" Long live King George !" &c.

Forster was the chief object of odium and derision. A Quaker, in fixing his eyes upon the General's chaplain, Mr Patten, whom he distinguished by his canonicals, slily remarked, " Verily, Friend, thou hast been the trumpeter of Rebellion to these men. Thou must now answer for them !" Upon which, the poor Chaplain's grenadier guard (as Patten relates the affair), indignant at this insult to misfortune, applied the butt-end of his musquet, and " shoved the spirit into the ditch."—" Thou hast not used me civilly," retorted the Quaker; " I doubt thou art not a real friend to King George."

As for the unhappy Forster, still other humiliations awaited him. Although still a member of Parliament for Northumberland, he had up to that period incurred no expulsion from the House of Commons. He was therefore little prepared for the intelligence, that he was destined to so common a prison as Newgate. It was also most savagely intended, that, upon his entrance, he should be presented with a sight of the quartered remains of three Oxford delinquents, who had been executed the day previously for high treason,—which quarters were in a box, ready to meet the gaze of the late General, before being fixed over the gates of the city. Such a gloomy look-out was only alleviated by the hopes, with which his friends had taken pains to cheer him, that, upon entering London, he would be rescued by a High Church Tory mob.

Upon arriving at Holborn, the cavalcade was met by a set of fellows with warming pans in their hands, in allusion to the popular figment, that James the Third had been a stray offspring,

clandestinely enclosed in a warming pan ;—that he had been thus introduced into the bed of the Queen Mother during her pretended accouchement, with the view of being palmed upon the nation as a legitimate heir to the throne of England. Accordingly, in reference to this Whig legend, a most hideous noise was kept up by the brandishers of these warming pans, while beating them one against another, which was only interrupted by the cries of " No warming-pan Pretender !"—" No warming-pan Bastard !" &c. &c.

These vile accompaniments of the luckless march of Forster and his Chaplain were kept up along the whole of their remaining route.

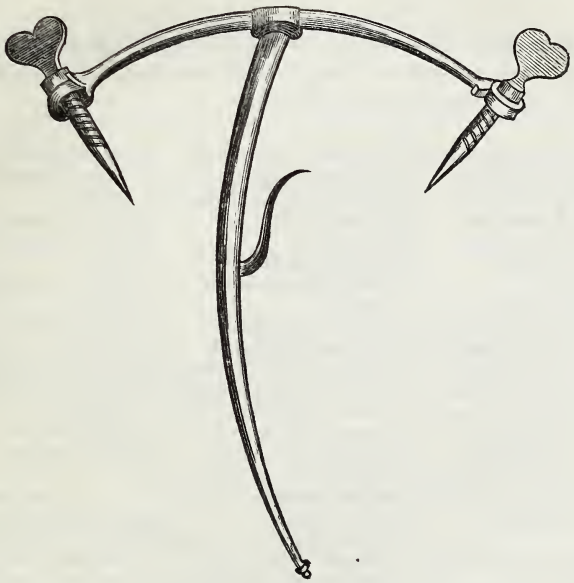
This savage exultation was said to have been only allayed by the youthful, dignified, and elegant contrast afforded by a young Scottish Gentleman of family, Basil Hamilton of Baldoun. It is admitted even by Oldmixon, " that his young and personable figure recommended him to the good will of the spectators."

But of all the prisoners who were thus led in triumph to the metropolis, no one excited so intense an interest as Brigadier Mackintosh, at whose very name, all London, from the fear that the Highland arms would have proved successful, had been taught to tremble. Before the affair at Preston took place, an alarm had been raised, that the Old Boy who looked so " grim" (as Peter Clarke was wont to describe him) had actually bent his hostile march towards the metropolis of England. From that time, the day and night dreams of quaking Cockneys were haunted with the idea of domiciliary visits from the wild, and half-naked Mountaineers of the North.

Particular pains had also been taken to impress upon the ignorant minds of the populace, that, if the Rebels who had taken up arms for a Popish prince had been successful, they would have introduced the inquisition into England ;—they would have tortured such of King George's officers and privates as would not be Papists, and they would have even put to death women and children, if they persisted in remaining heretics, while every London printshop displayed the awful instrument which had been invented, to assist in the purposes of torture, pillage, or murder.

AN EXACT DRAUGHT OF THE GAGG TAKEN FROM THE REBELS AT PRESTON.

[Reduced to one-third of the size of the original engraving.]



When the unfortunate prisoners had arrived at their destination, they were distributed in four parties, as follows:—The Lords to the Tower,—another party, including Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh, to Newgate,—a third party to the Marshalsea,—and a fourth to the Fleet.

(a) NAMES OF THE PRISONERS.

The following list of the prisoners who were confined in London was printed at Edinburgh and London, which is given as follows:—

A Full and Compleat Account of the Scots and English Noblemen and Gentlemen that were taken at the Battle of Preston, and now brought to London.

London, December 10.—Yesterday the principal Rebells taken at Preston, with their Servants, were brought to London, and committed Prisoners to the Tower, the Marshalsea, Newgate, and the Fleet. The Names of the Chief of the said Prisoners are as follows:—

The Earl of Derwentwater.
The Lord Widdrington.
The Earl of Nithsdale.
The Earl of Wintoun.
The Earl of Carnwath.
Viscount Kenmure.
Lord Nairn.
The Master of Nairn.
Basil Hamilton of Baldoon.
Edward Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk.
Charles Ratcliff, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater.
Charles Widdrington,
Peregrine Widdrington, brothers of the Lord W.
James Dalziel, uncle to the Earl of Carnwath.

Edmund Maxwell of Garnsalloch.
William Grierson of Lag.
Walter Riddell of Glenriddel.
Charles Maxwell of Cowhill.
Andrew Cassie of Kirkhouse.
Matthew Harestanes.
Robert M'Clellan of Barscob.
John Maxwell of Steilston.
William Irving.
John Paterson of Prestonhall.
James Paterson, his brother.
William Anderson.
William Maitland.
Sir William Cockburn.
John Masterton.
Alexander Deans.
Mark Carss of Cockpen.
Alexander Straton.
Alexander Foulis of Ratho.
William Dundas.
David Hall.
George Skinner.
William Dalmahoy of Ravelrig.
Alexander Congalton.
Alexander Dalmahoy.
William Dalmahoy, sons of Sir Alexander Dalmahoy.
Francis Congalton.
Robert Hepburn of Keith.
John Hepburn, his son.
George Seaton of Barns.
Andrew Pitcairn.
James Nicolson.
Thomas Anderson of Whitburgh.
George Seton of Garleton.
William Dundas of Airth.
David Bruce of Kinnaird.
Alexander Miln of Newmiln.
James Cornwall of Bonhard.
Alexander Foster of Carsphoney.
William Mackintosh of Borlem.
John Hamilton of Pumpherston.
Alexander Murray of Stenhope.
James Home of Aiton.
John Cunningham of Bogendgreen.
Alexander Craw of Keighhead.
George Home of Whitefield.
Alexander Home, his son.
George Winraham of Eyemouth.
John Winraham, his son.
William Maxwell of Munshes.
George Maxwell, his brother.
Robert Carruthers of Ramlescales.
Walter Scott of Wool.
George Rutherfoord of Fairnington.
William Scott.
Gilbert Grierson.

ENGLISHMEN.

James Swinbourn.
Edward Swinbourn, brothers of Sir William Swinburn of Capheaton.
Thomas Errington.
John Clavering of Caliley.
Philip Hudson of Tene.
Thornton of Netherwitton.
Riddle jun. of Swinbourn.
William Ord of Warkworth-Grange.
George Gibson jun. of Stonecraft.
Thomas Forster, Etherstone.
—— Hall of Otterburn.
William Shaftoe of Bavington.
John Shaftoe, his son.
All of Northumberland.
Robert Cotton of Gedding in Huntingtonshire.
John Cotton, his son.

Lionel Walden of Huntington.	Robert Talbot.	—— Dalton of Thurnham.
Robert Patten.	Henry Oxborough.	Thomas Butler of Rawcliff.
Richard Gascoyne.	Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock.	—— Layburn of Natsby.
George Budden.	Ralph Standish of Standish.	Tho. Walton of Winder.
Charles Wogan.	Richard Townley of Townley.	Gabr. Hesketh of Whitehill.
Nich. Wogan.	—— Tyldesley of the Lodge.	Cuthbert Hesketh, his son.
James Talbot.		Albert Hodgson of Leighton.
		—— Tunstal.

The rest are mostly Highland Officers, and Servants of the above named Gentlemen.

After the prisoners had been safely lodged in the manner described, it might have been hoped that popular insult would have ceased. Yet, from this time, numerous lampoons made their appearance,—some of them written in the worst taste and feeling. Among them, one may be selected as the most favourable specimen, and, as an excuse for the insertion of it, I may plead, that while a few passages of a very coarse description are omitted, it is reprinted more for the historical information which it gives of the incidents of the Prisoners' route from Lancashire to London, than from any other consideration.

A LETER FROM MR FORSTER, BRIGGADEER OF HIS MAJESTIES FORCES, TO HIS GRACE THE EARL OF MAR.

My last to your Lordship gave an Account of our Victory at Preston, and the Prisoners taken there. I believe your Lordship had Scarce Finished Your Rejoiceing on that Occasion, when we Received the News of Your Lordship at Dumblain. I may assure Your Lordship we were not behind Hand with You, in our Joy for your Success, Tho' for some Reasons we could not Express it in so Notorious a manner as you did. I now do my self the Honour to Acquaint Your Lordship what we have been doing since, and what improvement we have made of that Victory.

As Soon as the Prisoners were Disarmed, and Dismounted and Secured, it was Judged proper to seperate them, being so much insulated. Pursuant to this Resolution, a strong body of Highlanders was ordered towards Chester, and another to Leverpool, to Possess themselves of those places, for the better Security of Our Quarters. These Detachments entered to their Respective places, not only without Opposition, but were wellcomed by the Enemies Troops in Garrison there. Being thus in possession of the strong Castle of Chester, and part of Leverpool, it was Resolved the rest of us should march forward to Rigby, judging that our work was half done, could we get Possession of that.

And, that our march might be as little incumbered as possible, it was agreed to leave our Baggage, Cannon and small Arms behind us, and, because of our Horses being Fatigued by long marches, these we also left at Prestoun, while the Country thorow which we passed were oblidged to Furnish us fresh Provisions every Day.

We were Joined on the Road by several Bodys of the Enemys Troops, Horse and Foot, and between Barnet and Highgate there met us a battalion of the Foot Guarded with some Horse Batalions, with their Officers and Accoutriments, and we were assured of the good inclinations of the Enemys Army. I cannot here pass over in Silence the great Civility we Received from the General. He Ordered a Foot Souldier to attend each one of us, and, in a most Respectfull manner, to march before, with a Horse Bridle in one Hand and a firelock in the other, whilst himself, with the Horse Granedeers, Led the Van and cleared the way. Thus they Served, at the same time, to Conduct and Guard us thorow an innumerable Crowd of Spectators, which came to meet and wellcome us. In this Triumphant manner we entered this City, the Stairs every where Crowded, and the Windows and Belconies filled with incredible Numbers of Spectators, who all expressed their Joy to see us, by Huzzas and other Acclamations.

It would Savour a little of Vanity to tell Your Lordship the particular Favours done my self, which I believe were owing more to the Commission I have the Honour to bear, then to any merit of mine. My self and Brigadier M'Intosh have taken our Quarters in this place, which is near the Center of this City. The Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Carnwath, Nithsdale, are in the Tower, and the other Officers are some in the Fleet, others in the Marshalsea. By this Disposition we are nearer our Friends, and can better observe what passes in every Quarter.

I cannot acquaint your Lordship what Expedition we shall go upon next. Probably we shall Attack Paddingtoun Pass. Your Lordship needs not be told how necessary it is to gain this from the Enemy, for whilst it continues among their Hands we can neither lend Assistance to Our Friends at Oxford, or Receive any from them, for two of our Parties were lately Cut to pieces endeavouring to pass that way. As this undertaking would be a work of Difficultie, I could wish Your Lordship a Share in the Honour of it, and this makes me long impatiently to hear you are in possession of Edinburgh Castel, for in such a Situation of Affairs we might act in concert, and your Lordship by moving this way, would have an opportunity of hanging on its Rear, whilst we hang on its Front and Flank. By this means we shall find the Enemy full Imployment for some time, and if we should not tarry, we should faill of giving great Diversion.

* * * * *

I hope your Lordships next will give some Account of the King, and General Butler [the ci-devant Duke of Ormond]. I wonder we have neither seen nor

heard of them ; whose Fault it is, I know not, but I can assure your Lordship his Majestys interest Declines by it, and many of his Friends do not Stick to say, that no man who has the Brains of a Goose would ever run his neck into a hose for a Cause, whose Principal has not Courage enough to appear at the Head of it.

My Lord,

Your Lordships Servant,

FORSTER.

From my Head Quarters
of Newgate.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE CHEVALIER ST GEORGE IN SCOTLAND.

After the unfortunate captives taken at Preston had been conducted to the prisons of London, Lancaster, Chester, or Liverpool, a new event occurred, which, at first, promised to advance the Jacobite cause. This was the arrival in the Highlands of the Chevalier St George, acknowledged by the Insurgents as James the Third of England, and the Eighth of Scotland.

The Chevalier St George had encountered various delays in the endeavour to come over, partly owing to the vigilance of the King's ships ; but, at last, he contrived, in a small vessel, to set sail from Dunkirk with only three servants ; and, on the 22d of November, he arrived at Peterhead,—a week only after the engagements of Sheriff-Muir and Preston.

The Chevalier immediately proceeded to Scone, where he assumed the functions of royalty ; but the hopes of the Jacobites were beginning to fail, from various causes.

Owing to the very long train of expenses into which the Lords and Chieftains had been led, before their Master, James the Eighth, had arrived, conjoined with the fatal disaster of Preston, the Jacobite zeal of the Highlanders had much cooled down ; the

Earl of Seaforth had also returned to his allegiance, while few of the men who had left the camp after the battle of Sheriff-Muir, had returned to their duty. Mar was also in want of provisions and fuel, during an inclement period of the year, and he had little money left,—a vessel from abroad, expected with gold, having been lost. He was also destitute of arms and ammunition; so that, from this cause, any increase in the number of his adherents would have been ineffectual. In fact, he could not count upon 4000 men, of whom only 2500 could be relied upon as fighting men.

Such was the depressed state of Mar's army. In the mean time, the Government forces, by the pouring in of Dutch troops, had increased to 8000 effective men, who were only waiting for the arrival of artillery to commence active operations.

CHAPTER X.

THE PRISONERS TRIED AT LIVERPOOL, AND THEIR SENTENCES.

At the beginning of January 1716, the Government sent down a commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try the prisoners who had been distributed in the various prisons of Lancaster, Chester, and Liverpool. As Liverpool had the reputation of being in the Whig interest, having sent to Parliament two Members of this party, it was conceived expedient, that the trials of so many rebels, which, under the most favourable circumstances, could not fail to have caused much factious excitement and sensation, should take place in a town, more devoted to the Whig cause than any other in Lancashire.

The judges appointed for the trial were Mr Baron Burry, Mr Justice Eyre, and Mr Baron Montague, who, on the 4th of Janu-

ary, set out, with all their attendants, from London. For the sake of making an impression upon the country, they travelled leisurely through all the towns upon the route, so as to occupy seven days on the journey. On the 11th of the same month, they arrived at Liverpool.

Upon the day following, January 12th, the judges opened their commission; the Grand Jury were summoned, and the court sat. There had been Commissioners previously appointed to take precognitions of such as were made witnesses in reference to the fact of rebellion at Preston; which, having been laid before the Grand Jury, bills of indictment were found against 48 of the prisoners.

Copies of the Indictments were then given to the persons against whom the bills were found, and the court was adjourned for eight days, in order to afford the prisoners legal time to prepare their defence.

Before the 12th and 20th of January, other prisoners having been brought from Lancaster and Chester to Liverpool, the Grand Jury, in the interval, found bills against 113 prisoners, of whom 40 were Scotsmen. To these individuals, copies of their respective indictments were delivered.

On the 20th of January the Court again sat, between which date and that of the 9th of February following, it is said that 74 persons were tried. The names of the prisoners who were thus rendered amenable to the laws of their country, are given by Rae, in his History of the Rebellion (p. 378, et seq.), along with the dates of their trials. But, besides this record, I possess another list of the prisoners tried, apparently an authentic one, in which the number is stated to be only 68, instead of 74. But when this list was printed, the whole of the trials had not taken place. There are, again, in other writings, still greater discrepancies respecting the numbers tried at Liverpool, who had been found guilty and executed. However, from these various authorities, an attempt has been made to render the following list as perfect as possible, in which the dates of trials are expressed, and the sentences:—

(a) LIST OF THE REBEL PRISONERS TRIED AT LIVERPOOL, TO THE 9TH OF FEBRUARY, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR TRIALS; THEIR DESIGNATIONS, AND THEIR SENTENCES.

Tried Jan. 20.

Richard Shuttleworth of Preston, gent., Roman Catholic,	Executed at Preston, 28th January, and head to be fixed on the Town-hall.
Roger Muncaster, Garstang, Lanc., attorney-at-law, Church of England,	Executed at Preston, Jan. 28.
Thomas Cowpe of Walton-in-the-Dale, Lanc., yeoman,	
William Butler of Myerscough, Lanc., gent.,	
William Arkwright, jun. of Preston, labourer,	

Jan. 21.

Henry Walmesley of Preston, gentleman,	Acquitted.
Richard Chorley of Chorley, Esq., Roman Catholic,	Executed at Preston, Feb. 9.
Charles Chorley, his son, gent.,	Afterwards died in prison.
James Drummond, brother to Sir John Drummond of Innermay, and a relation of the Lord Drummond, Scotsman,	Executed Feb. 9. at Preston.

Jan. 23.

Thomas Shawe, labourer,	Scotsman,	Condemned. No time set for execution.
James Mackintosh, labourer,	Scotsman,	Condemned. No time set for execution.
William Black, labourer,	Scotsman,	Executed the 9th Feb. at Preston.
Donald Mackdonald, gentleman,	Scotsman,	
Rorie Kennedie, labourer,	Scotsman,	

Jan. 24.

Henry R'obotham of Preston, labourer,	Acquitted.
James Pleasington of Preston, apothecary,	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
Edward Sykes of Nether-Wyersdale, Lancaster, labourer,	Acquitted.
James Burn of Fiswick, Lancaster, tailor,	Executed at Wigan, Feb. 10.
John Ord [variously named Oard, or Howard] gent., of Lancaster, Scotsman, (?),	Executed at Preston, Feb. 9.
Thomas Jackson of Preston, butcher,	Died before sentence.
John Robotham of Clayghton, Lancaster, labourer,	Exec. at Preston, Feb. 9.
Joseph Waddesworth of Catteral, Lancaster, gent.,	Exec. at Garstang, Feb. 14.

Thomas Cartmel [Catmell or Carthnell] of Billsborough, yeoman, ...	Exec. at Garstang, Feb. 14.

Tried Jan. 25.

John Mackullum, labourer, . .	Scotsman,	Condemned, and no time set for execution. [Were erroneously said to have been executed at Manchester, Feb. 11.]
Donald Smith, husbandman, .	Scotsman,	
Alexander Binnie, labourer, .	Scotsman,	Died before sentence.
Andrew Davidson, labourer, .	Scotsman,	Condemned. No time set for execution.
William Ferguson mariner, .	Scotsman,	Do.
Patrick Smith, blacksmith, .	Scotsman,	Do. Erroneously said to have been executed at Manchester, Feb. 11.
John Macgillivray, labourer, .	Scotsman,	Exec. Feb. 10. at Wigan.
Andrew Dolle or Dugal, labourer,	Scotsman,	Condemned, but no time set for execution. [Erroneously said to have been executed at Wigan, Feb. 11.]

Tried Jan. 26.

James Blundell of Standish, Lanc., wood-tanner and church-warden, ...	Exec. at Wigan, Feb. 10.
William Harris of Burnley, Lanc., labourer,	Exec. at Manchester, Feb. 11.
Stephen Seager of Burnley, Lanc., labourer,	Exec. at Manchester, Feb. 11.
James Blackwood of Preston, Lanc., gent.	Condemned, but no time set for execution.

Tried Jan. 27.

Thomas Siddall of Manchester, blacksmith. [The mob Captain of Manchester,] . . .	Exec. Feb. 11. at Manchester, and his head fixed on the cross.
James Finch of Walton-in-the-Dale, labourer,	Exec. at Wigan, Feb. 10.
Thomas Walmesley of Billsborough, innholder,	Acquitted.
Joseph Porter of Burnley, Lanc., labourer, .	Executed at Manchester, Feb. 11.
Thomas Forster of Bamborough, Northumberland, gent., ...	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
Malcolm Stewart, Scotsman, gent., .	
Alexander Stewart, Scotsman, gent. .	

Tried Jan. 28.

William Whalley, of Walton-in-the-Dale, Lanc., whitster, ...	Executed at Wigan, Feb. 10.

George Hodgson, of the same, labourer,		Condemned, but no time set for execution.
Thomas Goose [or Gorse] junr., of Cotteral, Lanc.,		Executed at Garstang, Feb. 14.
Miles Begg of Preston, labourer,		Condemned, but no time set for execution. [Erroneously said to have been executed at Wigan, Feb. 10.]

Tried Jan. 30.

James Bow, labourer,	Scotsman,	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
George Mackintosh,	Scotsman,	Executed at Lancaster, Feb. 18.
John Macgrigor,	Scotsman,	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
John Stewart, gent.,	Scotsman,	

Tried Feb. 1.

John Mackennen [or Mackenup], gent.,	Scotsman,	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
John Robertson, gent.,	Scotsman,	
Hercules Durham, goldsmith,	Scotsman,	Executed at Lancaster, Feb. 18.
Archibald Macklachlan, gent.,	Scotsman,	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
Donald Robertson sen., gent.,	Scotsman,	Executed at Lancaster, Feb. 18.
Robert Stewart, gent.,	Scotsman,	Acquitted.
Donald Robertson jun., gent.,	Scotsman,	Acquitted.

Tried Feb. 2.

John Finch of Walton-in-the-Dale, Lanc.,		Executed at Manchester, Feb. 11.
Christopher Carus of Halton, Lanc., gent.,		Condemned, but no time set for execution.
Alexander Drummond, gent.,	Scotsman,	Executed at Liverpool, Feb. 25.
John Stewart, gent.,	Scotsman,	Condemned, but no time set for execution.
Archibald Menzies,	Scotsman,	

Tried Feb. 3.

Robert Crow of Aberdeen, gent.,	Scotsman,	Both condemned. One of the Crows, which of them is uncertain, celebrated as a mathematician, was executed at Lancaster, Feb. 18.
John Crow, do. gent.,	Scotsman,	

Tried Feb. 4.

Richard Withington of Ribbleton, Lanc. labourer, Richard Birches of Preston, joiner, . .	Sentences unknown.
Allan Sanderson of Preston, ship-carpenter,	Executed, Feb. 14. at Garstang.

Tried Feb. 6th and 7th.

Archibald Burnet of Carlops, gent.,	Scotsman,	Executed at Liverpool, Feb. 25.
Leonard Hunter, Northumbd., gent., Kenneth M'Kenzie, . . . John Kennedy, ...	Scotsman, Scotsman.	Sentences unknown.

Tried Feb. 8.

Richard Blackburn, Lancashire, gent., .	Acquitted.

Tried Feb. 9.

George Collingwood, Northumberland, Roman Catholic. Had been ordered to Liverpool, but was seized with the gout at Wigan, and thence taken to Liverpool, John Hunter of Northumberland. Had been shot through the leg at Preston,	Executed at Liverpool, Feb. 25.

On the 18th February, some rebels, said to have been four in number, were executed at Lancaster, and their heads fixed over the castle gates. Their names are not well known. One of the Crows of Aberdeen, and another Scotsman, a Mackintosh, are said to have been of the number. [See Baines's Lancashire, vol. iv. p. 326.] To this list, my inquiries, as will be seen by the foregoing list, have added others. There is a Scotsman of the name of David Drummond of Undermeath, said to have been executed, who nowhere appears in the lists which I have consulted.—[Hist. of Scotland, by J. W., M.D.]

Such of the rebels as were condemned, but had no time fixed for their sentence being put into execution, appear to have undergone a commutation of punishment, probably for colonial slavery.

But the law was, for this time, satisfied. We are told that about 1000 prisoners at Lancaster, Liverpool, and Chester, submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation.

(b) THE HIGH SHERIFFS CHARGES, INCIDENTAL TO THE LIVERPOOL TRIALS.

Such was the general result of the sanguinary assizes held at Liverpool in the year 1716.

There is a very curious document published by Mr Baines, in his History of Lancashire (vol. iv. p. 87), from a contribution by Wm. Upcott, Esq., which is entitled " An account of the disbursements of Thomas Crisp, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire, attending the Tryall of the Rebells at Leverpoole, and of executing 34 of them ; conveying prisoners, making conveniences, and finding straw and other necessaries for them at Leverpool and elsewhere, which amount as follows, viz.," &c. It is unnecessary to reprint this very long record at full length, as Mr Baines's work is of such easy consultation. I shall, therefore, only avail myself in a general manner of the information which it affords.

It appears that the charges, exclusive of the expenses of the High Sheriff, as well as of the Under Sheriff and his deputy, amounted to L.515 : 5 : 10, and that the separate charge of executing 34 rebels came to L.132 : 15 : 8.

Among the items, which may be enumerated in a chronological order, the sending out precepts to the several hundreds in the county amounted to L.12 : 7 : 6 ; while the charge of the Under Sheriff, a trumpeter, and some Sheriffs' men to wait on the Judge from Warrington, came to L.7, 10.

We may next advert to "the charge of 17 men and horses, 38 days attending at Leverpoole, at 4s. per day each man and horse, L.129, 4d. ;" while the payment for " hatts, stockings, and other parts of their liveries worn out," is L.17 : 9 : 6.

In the next place it appears, that while the High Sheriff and his men were detained 38 days at Liverpool, the Grand Jury attended at least 30 of those days. Thus, there is a " payment for wine for the Grand Jury, &c., and other disbursements about them, for their room, grate, coals, &c., 30 days and upwards, L.82 : 8 : 8," while the ale which was paid for them came to L.6 : 7 : 6. The High Sheriff appears to have " payd one day's

dinner for them, L.15 : 7 : 5," and " for persons to attend them, &c., L.2, 10s."

We now come to the expenses attending the arrangements made for the security and maintenance of the prisoners, who, in consequence of the additional numbers transferred from Chester and Lancaster, crowded the jail of Liverpool. It appears that the payments for making guard-beds and conveniences for the soldiers and prisoners,—for straw,—for candles,—for coals,—for cleaning the rooms,—for building up the windows to prevent escapes,—for men to attend and guard the condemned prisoners, (which the military forces required from the Sheriff),—for the additional accommodation of a cellar,—and rooms for the prisoners and guards,—and for the expenses of the gaoler and his servants,—amounted altogether to L.159 : 7 : 4.

The charges at the termination of the assizes, for attending the Judges to Warrington, came to L.26, 3s.

We again learn, from the same document, that, upon the close of the assizes, such prisoners as had not been condemned to suffer at Preston, Manchester, Wigan, Garstang, or Liverpool, were removed to Lancaster; while about 20, whom the Judges probably had not time to try, were committed " over to Lancaster Assizes." Thus, the charges incidental to " the remaining condemned prisoners from Leverpoole to Lancaster, and about 20 that were committed over to Lancaster assizes,"—to " payd for cords and tying the prisoners,"—and " to payd for horses for them that could not goe on foot,—and for men to lead them, &c., being 17 by the first guard, and 16 on horseback by the second guard," amounted to L.26 : 19 : 5.

(c) CIRCUIT OF TWO EXECUTIONERS THROUGH THE CHIEF TOWNS OF LANCASHIRE.

Each gallows required a stack of faggots for burning the entrails, and the hearts. [" Behold the heart of a Traitor !"] The bodies were then cleft into quarters, and, occasionally, the heads taken off.

Such of my readers only as may happen to be well gifted with

the phrenological organ of Destructiveness, can be expected to follow, with any degree of complacency whatever, the two Lancashire hangmen in their bloody circuit.

In the first place, five prisoners were condemned to suffer on the 27th of January at Preston. Accordingly, we find in the High Sheriff's charges the following items :—

Payd the charge of sending to the officers at Manchester to get guards to convey five prisoners to Preston to be executed,	L.0	7	6
Jan. 26, Payd the charge of horses, and men to lead the horses, &c., in conveying them thither, ...	5	9	0
Payd for cords to pinion them, ...	0	2	6

Those who underwent the sentence of the law at Preston on the 28th of January, were Richard Shuttleworth, of Preston, Roger Muncaster [or Moncaster], of Garstang, Thomas Cowpe, William Butler, and William Ackwright [or Arkwright]. Their designations have been given in the list of the prisoners tried.

The penalty of High Treason had few of its horrible rigours omitted. In the Sheriff's charges are the following items :—

Jan. 27, Erecting gallows and paid for materialls, hurdle, fire, cart, &c., in executing Shuttleworth and 4 more at Preston, and setting up his head, &c.	L.12	0	4

The site of the execution is preserved at Preston by the name of the Gallows Hill.

Owing to Mr Shuttleworth's family connections, his sentence excited much interest. His head was afterwards fixed upon a pole in front of the Town-Hall.

Mr Roger Muncaster, attorney of Garstang, had embraced High Church principles. Before suffering, he delivered to the Sheriff a declaration, wherein he renounced the principles of High Church Toryism, which had induced him to take up arms against the Government. This was a matter of great exultation to the Whigs—[See Oldmixon's History of England, p. 631]. Patten, while he complains that not one of the Tories or High Churchmen was touched with remorse, even though he might have pleaded

guilty, adds—" I must own, Mr Moncaster, that was executed in Lancashire, in his dying speech, declared the greatest detestation of his guilt, and earnestly begged the Almighty's pardon for rebelling against his lawful Sovereign. This man could not be imposed upon to speak contrary to his conscience, which the party had persuaded others to do."—[Patten's Preface to his History.]

As there is extant, in Mr D. Laing's collections, a copy of the Declaration which Muncaster gave to the Sheriff, it is subjoined :—

" DEAR FRIENDS,

" I am brought hither to be a Miserable and Dismal Spectator to you all. The Crime I am accused of, condemned, and brought hither to be executed for, bears no manner or less infamous Title than Rebellion, a Crime prohibited both by the Laws of GOD and Man, and tho' I be the Person, not the only Person to Suffer for it, yet, I declare that from my Heart, I do Detest and Abhor the very Principles of Rebellion, and look upon the Promoters and Abettors thereof to be Men without any, or at least any good Principles, and Enemies, in the Highest Degree, to the Lawful Soveraign King George, and Country. I shall not trouble you any further with this, but acquaint you, that upon a Serious Recollection of my bypast, and GOD knows too long continued Transgressions and offences both against GOD and Man, and a strict View and inquiry to the outmost of my Power into my wicked Course of Life, those very Sins that I have wretchedly committed, have brought the deserved Vengeance of God upon me, tho' they shelter and cloke themselves under the base Title of my Crime. I heartily, and, with the utmost sincerity, Repent of my Sins of what nature soever, and I hope through Faith, and the Merits and Intercession of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer to obtain Remission thereof. And I, in perfect Charity with all Men, and freely from my Heart, forgive all, particularly every one concerned in my Execution, desiring Forgiveness of all Persons, here present or else where, whom I have any wise offended.

" I was educated in the Protestant Religion, of the Established Church of England, have continued so all my Life, and dye in the

same, and am sorry that I should blemish that Church by my late proceedings, for which I now die, and beg Patience to hear me repeat the Articles of my Christian Faith. I believe," &c.

" I Desire you would take such Caution from my Unfortunate Example, as may prevent the like to any of you. I desire you would all join with, and for me, in Prayers to Almighty GOD for Remission of my Sins, and that through the Merits and Mediation of his Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer, I may meet with a Glorious Resurrection to Life Eternal."

After these executions had taken place, we find the High Sheriff preparing to again send the two hangmen to Preston, and to make arrangements to execute other prisoners at Wigan and Manchester. Thus, on the 6th February, there appears the following disbursements :—" Payd for messengers for other guards, to convey 7 men to Preston, 5 to Wigan, and 5 to Manchester, to be executed, L.0 : 11 : 0 ; also payd the smith for irons, fetters, &c., for the prisoners, L.3 : 19 : 4."

Preston, Feb. 9.—On this day the hangmen again visited this town, for the exercise of whose functions there are these items :— " Feb. 6.—Payd the charge of men and horses on the conveying the seven to Preston, L.6 : 9 : 0." And on " Feb. 9.—Disbursement on executing old Mr Chorley and others, and setting up a head, &c., L.5 : 10 : 6."

It has been before remarked, that Richard Chorley, Esq. of Chorley, was the representative of one of the most ancient families in Lancashire. His son, also in the Rebellion, died in Liverpool soon after his trial. Other sufferers, along with this aged and bereft parent, were James Drummond, Esq. (related to the Lord Drummond), and William Black, Donald M'Donald, John Howard, Rorie Kennedie, and John Robotham. One of the heads was set over the Town-Hall.

It would appear, that the headless bodies of the two condemned prisoners whose heads became thus exposed, were found in coffins, while cutting through Gallows Hill in May 1817.—[See Baines's Lanc., vol. iv., p. 326.

Wigan, Feb. 10.—This was the next halting-place of the two hangmen's circuit. Here they executed the law upon James Blundell, James Finch, John M'Gillivray, William Whalley, and James Burn; for which the disbursements were—" Payd the charge of men and horses for conveying 5 to Wigan, L.2 : 6 : 6 ;" and " charges for executing, L.7 : 1 : 2."

At Manchester, Feb. 11.—Next day the hangmen proceeded to Manchester, where, at a station, traditionally said to be Knot Mill, they exercised the functions of their office upon Thomas Siddall, blacksmith of Manchester, and the ci-devant captain of the Sacheverell mob. His head was afterwards fixed on the Market Cross. He left behind him a noble-minded son, one of the Manchester heroes of the year 1745, whose fate was precisely similar to that of his father. Other sufferers were—William Harris, Stephen Seager, Joseph Porter, and John Finch.

In the High Sheriff's bill of charges are the following items :— " February 11th, paid the charges of Horses and men to lead the prisoners, in the conveying of five to Manchester, L.3 : 7 : 6," and on February 11th, " charge at Manchester for executing Syddall, &c., L.8, 10."

Garstang, Feb. 14th.—The next town in which the Hangmen gratified their employers, was Garstang. Here they executed Allan Sanderson, Thomas Cartmell, Thomas Gorse, and Joseph Waddesworth.

Lancaster, Feb. 18th.—On this day we again trace the two Hangmen in their disgusting perambulation.

In the High Sheriff's charges there appears " Feb. 16th and 18th, charge at Garstang and Lancaster on executing 4 at either place, L.22 : 0 : 8. Besides the Under Sheriffs."

There is some little doubt about the exact names of the rebels who here suffered. Mr Crow, an Aberdeen mathematician, perished on the scaffold, and, along with him, as it would appear, George Mackintosh, Hercules Durham, and Donald Robertson.

Liverpool, Feb. 25th.—The circuit of the Hangmen here ended.

On this day suffered Mr Burnett of Carlops, a most active gentleman in the Rebellion, along with Alexander Drummond, and two Northumberland gentlemen, viz., George Collingwood and John Hunter.

In the High Sheriff's account is the following Item: "Feb. 25. Charge of executing Bennet" [Burnet] "and three more at Leverpoole, L.10, 3s."

After the labours of the Hangmen had, for this time, closed, they were reimbursed, as we learn from the High Sheriff's accounts, after the following manner:

	£	s.	d.
Payd the 2 Executioners, ...	60	0	0
Payd for horses to carry the Executioners to the severall places of execution, and their travelling charges, ...	7	10	0

Whether the whole of the Prisoners have been enumerated who were executed early in the year 1716, some doubt may be entertained, as one or two names of the Scotsmen, said to have thus perished, are recorded in the writings of their countrymen, which are not to be found in the documents to which we have had access. It is not improbable, therefore, that, in the following spring assizes of 1716, some few other prisoners who had been among the twenty, whom the High Sheriff reports as having been committed over to Lancaster Assizes, were tried and executed. Of such as suffered in the following autumn at Lancaster, we have more precise information, as will be shewn hereafter.*

* The doubtful names alluded to appear in the "History of Scotland, by J. W., M.D." The first is that of David Drummond of Innermay; while, in addition to that of Roderick, or Rorie Kennedy, duly recorded, the writer tells us there was a SECOND Kennedy who suffered. Could this have been the individual, who, under the name of John Kennedy, was tried at Liverpool on the 6th or 7th of February, but whose fate was expressed in the general list of prisoners tried (see page 195) as unknown?

CHAPTER XI.

THE INSURRECTION IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS ABANDONED.

At the time when the Insurgents of Lancashire were paying the forfeit on the public scaffold for their adherence to James the Third of England, the cause of the Chevalier was in Scotland beginning also to lose ground.

After the Earl of Mar had observed his forces to gradually dwindle by desertion, he reflected, that Perth, where his head quarters had hitherto been, afforded little more defence than that of an open village. He therefore resolved, upon the approach of the Government troops, to retire northwards.

At the end of January, when the Duke of Argyll had been greatly reinforced by the arrival of the Dutch Troops which had been promised King George, he resolved to take the field. Before His Grace's reconnoitring parties, the Highlanders quitted their posts in Fife with consternation. As a measure of safety, the Chevalier St George [James the VIII. of Scotland] then ordered such of the Highland houses to be burned to the ground, as were likely to afford shelter or provisions for the Government forces. After this was done, the Earl of Mar abandoned Perth with the Insurgent army, which immediately afterwards was occupied by Argyll without opposition.

It was on the last day of January when Mar began his flight from Perth to the North. In passing through Dundee, he kept two days in advance of the Government forces. The Insurgent army marched under the impression that their destination was Aberdeen, where a considerable force in aid of the Chevalier had

been long expected from France. But, upon the army arriving at Montrose, which was on the 14th of February, it was found that no succour had reached them from abroad, nor was there the least hope of any rising in England. The Jacobite cause then appeared hopeless.

It was also seriously reflected, that it would be impossible to make any stand against the Government forces, until the Insurgents should arrive at the more inaccessible parts of the Highland mountains; but that, in the mean time, the enemy was within a few miles of them. It was lastly considered, that, in consequence of the uncommon reward offered for the apprehension of the Chevalier, his person would continue to be the great object of pursuit in Argyll's army; and that this pursuit, however harassing it might be, would never relax, even to the extermination of any survivors of the troops, who, at the last extremity, might cling to the defence of their rightful sovereign.

These considerations were not lost upon the Chevalier. In taking advantage, therefore, of a small ship which then happened to be in the harbour of Montrose, he ordered a commission to be drawn up for Lieut.-General Gordon, as Commander-in-Chief, with the power to treat and capitulate with the Government army. He then privately set sail with Mar and a chosen few, to again seek for refuge on foreign shores.

With the departure of the Chevalier St George, the Jacobite cause seemed irretrievably lost. About a thousand of the Rebel forces, who had continued in a body to march to Aberdeen, then took refuge among their native mountains. The Leaders fled to various remote places, as to Dunbeath, or the Orkneys, whence they escaped to Gottenburgh, and various parts of the Continent.

CHAPTER XII.

SKETCH OF THE MORE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS IN ENGLAND RESULTING FROM THE REBELLION OF 1715, PARTICULARLY IN THE DECLINE OF HIGH CHURCH TORY INFLUENCE.

In concluding this narrative of the campaign of 1715, an important inquiry remains,—In what manner did the result of the contest affect the position of the various parties in England, who were engaged in the movement?

It may be replied, that a most important change was beginning to be induced, which, to fully explain in its ultimate result, would require the extent of a volume, rather than of a short chapter. Under these circumstances, therefore, it will be sufficient to call the attention to the High Church Tories, who, as a party, were the first to experience effects from the defeat of the Jacobite movement.

It will be recollected, that, at the very commencement of the Rebellion in England, the Government attributed the chief fomenting of it to the High Church Tories. "It was scarce to be imagined," said the King, in a speech delivered to Parliament, "that any of my Protestant subjects who had known and enjoyed the benefits of our excellent constitution, and had heard of the great dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by the Happy Revolution, should, by any arts and management, be drawn into measures that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, and subject them to Popery and Arbitrary Power. But such has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made instrumental to the Pretender's designs, who had never dared to think of invading us, or raising a rebel-

lion, had he not been encouraged by the success his emissaries and adherents have already had in stirring up riots and tumults, and by the farther hope they entertain of raising insurrections in many parts of my kingdoms."—[Speech delivered 21st September 1715.]

It will be again considered, that in several large towns of England, as at Bristol, Bath, Oxford, and Manchester, strong symptoms of disaffection appeared, which led to the apprehension, that, from several points of the kingdom, a simultaneous rising would ensue in favour of the Pretender. And it will be also kept in mind, that the Scottish Insurgents would never have thought of invading England, if it had not been for the high-flown promises held out to them of an immense support by the High Church Tories of Lancashire.

And when the Scots did really accept the invitation; and when, to the perfect astonishment of every party in the nation, it was found, that instead of the realization of these specious promises, the High Church Tory phalanx was in nubibus, nothing can well exceed the astonishment which was excited. While the exultation, and even derision of the Whigs and Presbyterians was unbounded, the Roman Catholics, on the contrary, whose valuable estates and lives had been hazarded in the Jacobite cause, felt an indignation against their treacherous allies (as they named them), which was unequalled for the asperity of its tone and fervour. Nor were the misled and ill-used Highlanders less violent, who asked, in taunts, to the gazing crowds assembled to see them led captives to London, "Where are all your High Church Tories? If they would not fight for us, why do they not come and rescue us?"

From this period, then, the downfall of the High Church Tories as an influential party may be dated. In the failure of their pledge given to the English Roman Catholics and to the Scottish Highlanders conjointly, and in shrinking from the field of peril, where they were expected to appear in arms, they had incurred such a loss of public opinion, as no party whatever, let its professions be what they list, can long survive.

But there was, again, another cause operating, no less to the disadvantage of the High Church Tories.

It will be remembered, [page 66] that, upon the first tidings of the march of the Highlanders towards England, Dr Tennyson, Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by several other Bishops, issued a declaration, which was extensively circulated among all the clergy of England and their flocks, denouncing those who, from a pretended zeal for the Church, had joined with Papists, and had attempted to set up a Popish Pretender to support the Church of England. He also reminded them, that it was their duty to shew a hearty zeal for the Government in this conjuncture, and to vindicate the Church of England.

This appeal, although discountenanced by a minority of High Churchmen, among whom were Dr Atterbury and Dr Smallridge, Bishop of Bristol, did not prove ineffectual. Many in the Church, who had previously looked quietly on the contest, became roused from their lethargy; while others, with less disinterested motives, were stimulated to exert themselves, when they saw that Government was determined to award no ecclesiastical offices or preferments, except to such as were devoted to the Whig cause, and to the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover. Accordingly, the High Church Tories soon perceived, that all the hopes which they had promised to themselves of obtaining the objects for which they contended, were for ever frustrated, and that the distinctions upon which they had so recently prided themselves as a party, were beginning to be viewed as incompatible with that free and constitutional government of Church and State which had arisen out of the Revolution of 1688, and that they were even regarded as out of date and antiquated.

For instance, much fewer was the number of those filling offices in the Church, who would persist in asserting, in opposition to the principles of the Revolution of 1688, that "kings derived their power, not from the people, but from God, to whom only they were accountable; and that it did not belong to subjects to censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who came to be

so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, nor forfeiture, could alter or diminish."

Fewer also was the number of those churchmen who would continue to maintain, in reference to the independent power, or jurisdiction of the church, claimed by the High Church Tories, that it was superior to Magna Charta, or the law of the land.

Nor was there, lastly, quite so many churchmen to be found, however zealous they might be to protect the barriers of the Church against the inroads of Dissenters, who would be bold enough to enter their protest against the Act of Toleration conceded to Protestant Dissenters, for the upholding of which His Majesty had been pledged.

It would thus appear that, by the powerful stand made by Dr Tennyson and the majority of the Bishops against principles directed to Jacobitism, aided also by the vigilance of Government, the High Church Tories were beginning to discover, that the doctrines which they taught as ecclesiastical precepts would never be allowed to find root within the pale of the English Church, as it was then constituted, and that no chance remained for the propagation of their tenets, except by modelling an independent communion of their own, opposed to the usual oaths of allegiance and abjuration exacted by the reigning sovereign (whom, on Tory principles, they deemed an usurper), and consequently forming a Nonjuring Church.

From this time, therefore, the High Church Tories, previously a powerful party within the Church of England, began gradually to decline.

Manchester, however, may afford an exception to this remark. Although a strict surveillance was long kept up over the collegiate church of this town, the divisions of its respective High and Low Church partisans were not healed, until, with the event of 1745, the Jacobite cause became perfectly hopeless.

PART VI.

LANCASHIRE EVENTS

WHICH FOLLOWED THE CESSATION OF JACOBITE HOSTILITIES.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. Selections from the incidents connected with the Trials of the Prisoners at London.

II. The Declarations of Paul and Hall, attributed to the authorship of Dr Deacon, subsequently of Manchester, and the great promoter of the Lancashire Movement of 1745.

III. The Independent Communion promoted by the Non-Jurors, under the title of "The True Catholic Non-Juring Church of England."

IV. Clemency shewn to the Insurgent Prisoners in Scotland, in contrast with the vindictive proceedings carried on in Lancashire.

V. Measures for strengthening the allegiance towards the Government, &c.

VI. Rewards given to such individuals in Lancashire as had signalised themselves against the Rebels.

VII. The General Act of Indemnity, which passed, &c.

CHAPTER I.

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE TRIALS OF THE PRISONERS AT LONDON.

If any details were attempted of what befel the Prisoners who were confined in London, or who suffered on the scaffold, the materials would fill a volume. A mere glance must therefore suffice at the fate which attended such of the captives as were more immediately concerned in the events of the foregoing narrative;—a narrative which principally relates to the share which Lancashire had in the Rebellion of 1715.

(a) THE ADMISSION OF THE REV. ROBERT PATTEN AS KING'S EVIDENCE.

The Rev. Robert Patten, who had served as Chaplain to General Forster, soon after his removal to a prison in London, became an evidence for the King. The account of his going over to the Whig side may be learned from his own confession: "Whilst I continued among these unfortunate gentlemen, whose principles were my own, I looked no farther than esteeming what I had done as the least part of my guilt. But no sooner was I removed into the custody of a messenger, and there closely confined, where I had leisure to reflect upon my past life, and especially that of engaging in the rebellion, than a great many scruples offered themselves to my consideration, in consequence of which I made it my request to Lord Townshend, that he would be pleased to allow a clergyman to converse with me; which that nobleman freely granted, and sent to me the Reverend Dr Cannon, a man of singular good temper and literature, who applied his best endeavour to satisfy me in every point and query I proposed, in which his

learning and solid reasoning prevailed upon me: For which good service, my best wishes shall always attend him.

"From thence I began to think it a duty incumbent on me to make all the reparation I could for the injury I had done the Government: And as the first thing in that way, I became an evidence for the King; which I am far from being ashamed of, let what calumnies will, follow."

How far this explanation is calculated to vindicate the injury which Patten's character would sustain for being a renegade from doctrines which he had so lately maintained at the hazard of his life, and for appearing as the accuser of his late unfortunate allies, may be very fairly doubted. It may be added, however, in justice to his memory,—that his evidence in court seems to have been given in a mild manner; to have shewn no vindictiveness towards the prisoners; and to have been confined to simple matters of fact.

(b) SIX OF THE INSURGENT NOBLEMEN PLEAD GUILTY, &c.

Of these, the Earl of Derwentwater, the Viscount Kenmure, and the Earl of Nithsdale, received sentence of death. The Lords Widdrington, Carnwath, and Nairn, were reprieved.

Lord Kenmure stated, that he was led to this step by domestic considerations under which he felt deep pain. He begged the Houses of Parliament to intercede with the King for mercy, in order that he might live to shew himself the most dutiful of His Majesty's subjects, and thus be a means of keeping his Lady and four small children from abject poverty, the thoughts of which, as he added, along with his crime, made him the most unfortunate of all Gentlemen.

The Earl of Derwentwater, in supplicating for the Royal clemency, urged his youth and inexperience, by which he had been led to engage in the rebellion rashly, and without much previous concert, or premeditation, on the assurance that many of his relations and acquaintances would be there.

But this request was ineffectual. The whole of the three Lords were doomed to the scaffold, from which the Earl of Nithsdale

was saved by a stratagem of his noble-minded Countess. The narrative, as given by the Lady herself, is familiar to every one. It originally appeared in a printed form, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries.

On February 24th, 1716, the two unfortunate noblemen, to whom no Royal mercy was conceded, were conducted to Tower Hill. The Earl in his last declaration, wherein he confessed himself a Roman Catholic, asked pardon of those whom he might have scandalised by having pleaded guilty at his trial. He also professed that he had made bold with his loyalty, having never had any other but James the III. for his rightful sovereign, to whom he was bound by a natural love to his person, and from the conviction that he was capable of making his people happy. "And though," added the Earl, "he had been of a different religion from mine, I should have done all for him that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors, being thereto bound by the laws of God and man." He concluded by wishing, that the laying down of his life might contribute to the re-establishment of the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

Lord Kenmure made no speech on the scaffold. He prayed for James the III., and repented of his having disowned his principles. In a letter to the Chevalier, found on his person after execution, he recommended to him the support of his wife and children, and trusted that the cause for which he died would flourish after his death.

(c) THE EARL OF WINTOUN'S TRIAL, AND ESCAPE FROM PRISON.

On the 15th of March the Earl of Wintoun was put upon his trial before the Lords, and was found guilty, and doomed to the block.

The following explanation of His Lordship's ultimate escape is given by Patten. In the wildness of his youth he had run away to France, where he was domiciled with a blacksmith, in obscurity, and perfectly unknown. Here he served some years as a bellows-blower and under-servant, until he was recalled by his father's death. While abroad, the Earl had acquired great

mechanical knowledge, and hence was explained the ingenious manner in which he managed in the tower to cut asunder one of the iron bars of his window, by some small instrument which had been scarcely perceptible.

(d) THE COURTS APPOINTED FOR THE TRIAL OF THE GENTLEMEN TAKEN IN THE REBELLION.

As much inconvenience was to be expected from trying the Prisoners in Lancashire, where the crime of Rebellion had been committed, the Royal assent was given in March 1716 to "a bill for the more speedy trial of such persons as had levied war against His Majesty during the late Rebellion." A court was then erected in Southwark, and Judges were appointed for trying such of the prisoners as were in the Marshalsea, while a commission was granted, for bringing before the Court of Common Pleas in Westminster such as were in the Newgate, and in the Fleet.

Early in April, the new commission for the trials at Westminster met, and bills of indictment for High Treason were prepared against Thomas Forster (the Rebel General), Brigadier Mackintosh, William Shaftoe, Robert Talbot, Colonel Henry Oxburgh, Charles Wogan, Thomas Hall, Richard Gascoigne, Alexander and James Menzies, and John Robertson. In allowing these prisoners a week to prepare their defences, the Court then adjourned.—Rae's History, &c., p. 383.

(e) THE ESCAPE OF GENERAL FORSTER FROM NEWGATE.

It was intended that the trial of Forster should take place on the 14th of April, but on the 10th he effected his escape. He had been carousing, late at night, with another prisoner, Mr Anderton; and upon Mr Pitts, the governor of Newgate, entering the room and allowing the conviviality to go on, Forster, upon the pretence of retiring a few moments, on the plea of a natural necessity, contrived, by means preconcerted, as by woollen list so placed as to deaden the sound of a latch, and by the substitution of a false key for a real one, to let himself out of prison. He also made the Governor, with the aid of a

double lock on the outside, a prisoner in his own house, so as to obviate any immediate pursuit. Pitts was immediately tried for this neglect, but acquitted. A reward was offered of L.1000 for the apprehension of Forster, but he contrived to get over to Calais.

(f) THE ESCAPE OF BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH AND OTHERS FROM NEWGATE.

What Forster had been enabled to effect by stratagem and bribery, the Brigadier nobly accomplished by personal bravery.

Several of the prisoners having been arraigned before the court at Westminster, pleaded Not Guilty; and, upon a motion for time having been conceded to them, employed the interval of three weeks, thus obtained, in projecting their escape.

About eleven or twelve o'clock on the night of the 4th of May, Brigadier Mackintosh, along with his relative Mr James Mackintosh, Charles Wogan, and other daring spirits to the number of eight, knocked down the keeper and turnkey of Newgate, and disarmed the sentinel. In thus breaking out of their prison by storm, and getting clear, they were followed by other six prisoners, who having been unacquainted with the streets, eventually fell into the hands of the pursuers.

Mackintosh and his brave associates were to have been tried the day after their escape. The Judges, accordingly, met in Westminster Hall, but received a message that the keepers in Newgate were at that moment employed in chasing the flown birds. The Court and Juries then adjourned for a few days, and, in the mean time, one individual of the gallant party, Mr Robert Talbot, was retaken.

A reward of L.1000 was afterwards offered for the apprehension of Brigadier Mackintosh, and L.500 for seizing any of the rest who had made their escape, but in vain. The Whig populace of London were, consequently, much disappointed in not having had the opportunity afforded them, of seeing Old Mackintosh (as he was called) making his exit on a public scaffold.

Mackintosh, along with the gallant and youthful Lord Charles Murray, were the two heroes of the Insurgent expedition into

Lancashire. That the old Brigadier's escape should have been effected in a style so straightforward and gallant, was in perfect keeping with the tenor of his whole military life, and was quite in character with the dread-nought effrontery of a veteran campaigner of the age in which he lived.

After Brigadier Mackintosh had effected his escape in so dashing a manner, befitting all the vigour of youth (for he was then in his 59th year), he became, if possible, more adored than ever among the Jacobites, but especially among those of Lancashire. He even formed the subject of a very popular English ballad, which, from the scene being laid at "Proud Preston," and from one or two peculiarities of expression, ought to be regarded as a Lancashire Ballad. It is printed, verbatim, from a copy in the possession of Mr David Laing of Edinburgh :—

Brigadier M[c]INTOSH'S Farewel

to the Highlands.

To an Excellent New TUNE.*

M'Intosh is a Soldier brave,
and of his friends he took his leave,
Unto Northumberland he drew,
and march'd along with a jovial crew.
With a fa la la ra da ra da.

My Lord Derwentwater he did say,
five hundred guineas he would lay,
To fight the Militia if they would stay,
but they all prov'd cowards and ran away.
With a fa la &c.

The Earl of Mar did vow and swear,
if that Proud Preston he came near,
Before the Right should starve, and the Wrong shall stand,
He would drive them into some foreign land.
With a fa la &c.

* From a broadside, printed in double columns, without any date or place of printing.

My Lord Derwentwater he did say,
when he mounted on his dapple gray,
I wish I were at home with speed,
for I fear we are all betray'd indeed.
With a fa la &c.

No, no, says Foster, never fear,
the Brunswick Army is not near,
But if that they come, our Valour we'll show,
and give them a fatal overthrow.
With a fa la &c.

My Lord Derwentwater when he found,
that Foster had drawn his left wing round,
Said I wish I were with my dear Wife,
for fear that I will lose my life.
With a fa la &c.

M'Intosh he shook his head,
to see his soldiers all ly dead;
It was not for the Loss of those,
but I fear we're taken by our foes.
With a fa la &c.

M'Intosh is a valiant Soldier,
he carried a musket on his shoulder,
Cock your Pistols, draw your rapper,
damn you Foster, for you're a traitor.
With a fa la &c.

My Lord Derwentwater to Foster did say,
thou hast prov'd our ruin this very Day,
Thou promisedst to stand our friend,
but thou hast prov'd a rogue in the end.
With a fa la &c.

My Lord Derwentwater to Litchfield did ride,
With coach and attendants by his side,
He swore if he died on the point of the sword,
he'd drink a good health to the man that he lov'd.
With a fa la &c.

Thou Foster hast brought us from our own home,
leaving our Estates for others to come,
Thou treacherous dog thou hast us betray'd,
We are all ruin'd, Lord Derwentwater said.
With a fa la &c.

My Lord Derwentwater he is condemn'd,
and near unto his latter end,
His poor Lady she did cry,
my dear Derwentwater thou must die.
With a fa la &c.

My Lord Derwentwater he is dead,
and from his body they took his head,
But M'Intosh and others are fled,
to fit his hat on another man's head,
With a fa la &c.

(g) THE TRIALS OF CERTAIN PRISONERS AT THE MARSHALSEA.

On the 10th of April, the Court of Southwark assembled, and the Grand Jury for the County of Surrey found bills against eleven prisoners in the Marshalsea. Copies of their indictments having been afforded them, the Court then adjourned for eight days, and, at the expiration of this term, for even a longer period, in order to allow the prisoners the full time they asked for to prepare their evidence.—On the 11th of May, Alexander Menzies, after a vigorous defence, was found guilty; and, on the 12th, five prisoners, in retracting their former plea, cast themselves on the King's clemency, and pleaded guilty. Mr Farquharson and Mr Innes proved, that they were forced into the Rebellion, and, by an indulgent jury, were acquitted.

(h) THE TRIAL OF COLONEL OXBURGH.

The name of Colonel Oxburgh, who had served in King James's army, has often occurred in the present narrative. He was, according to Patten, "mild and merciful, very thoughtful, highly zealous in his religion, and more of the Priest than of the Soldier."

On the 7th of May, he was arraigned before the Court at Westminster, and, upon being found guilty, was executed on the 14th May at Tyburn.

Upon this occasion he delivered to the Sheriffs a written declaration of his sentiments, which, by their order, was printed in London. As Colonel Oxburgh, who was a most conscientious

Roman Catholic, may be considered as representing, in the sentiments which he professed on the scaffold, those of the Roman Catholics in general, the document which he left behind him becomes of some historical importance, and may be transcribed at length. It is printed from a copy in the possession of Mr David Laing of Edinburgh.

"Custom has made it almost necessary for Persons in my Circumstances to say or leave somewhat by their last Words, declaring their Sentiments with Relation to what they die for. In Complyance with which, I have thought fit to make the following Declaration:

"In the first Place, I declare I die a Member of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, tho' a very unworthy one; and I desire all the Members of that Communion to assist my Soul with their charitable Prayers.

"I declare for myself, That I am in Charity with all the World, and do from my Soul forgive all my Enemies, and all others who have any Ways injured or done me Wrong. And particularly, I forgive all those who have promoted my Death, by malicious Misrepresentations, or otherways: And earnestly beg GOD to forgive them, and grant them the same Blessings I desire for my own Soul.

"I likewise ask Pardon of all such as I have offended.

"It has been said, that the Catholics who were taken at Preston, engaged in that Affair in View only of setting a Catholic King on the Throne, and re-establishing the Catholic Religion in England; but that is not the only Calumny charged on them. I declare, for my own particular, that if King James the Third had been a Protestant, I should think my self obliged to pay him the same Duty, and do him the same service, as if a Catholic; nor do I know any Catholic that is not of the same Principle: For I never could find that either by the Laws of GOD, or the Ancient Constitution of the Nation, Difference of Religion in the Prince made any Change in the Allegiance of the Subject.

"I might have hoped, from the great character Mr Wills gave me at Preston (when I treated with him for a Surrender) of the Clemency of the Prince now on the Throne, (to which he said, We could not better entitle ourselves than by an early Submission) that such as surrendered themselves Prisoners at Discretion, on that Prospect, would have met with more Lenity than I have experienced; and I believe England is the only Country in Europe, where Prisoners at Discretion are not understood to have their Lives saved.

"I pray GOD of his Infinite Goodness to restore the Nation to its former happiness by Extinguishing all unhappy Divisions; that all Animosities and Feuds may be buried, and no other Emulation remain among the Subjects of Great Britain, but who shall be most zealous in advancing the true Glory of GOD, and the true Interest of the Nation."

After the execution had taken place, the head of Colonel Oxburgh was set up on Temple-Bar.

(i) THE POPULAR INDIGNATION, EXCITED BY THE JACOBITES, AT THE DISPLAY OF SLAUGHTERED RELICS UPON TEMPLE-BAR.

The press was, in the year 1716, as it is at present, a powerful party engine. The Tories of that time, in various addresses, wherein the names of the printers were carefully concealed, sought to rouse the feelings of humanity in their behalf, on account of the list of capital convictions and executions which had occurred during the bloody assize of Liverpool, and in consequence of the display which had taken place on Temple-Bar of the head of Colonel Oxburgh.

One of these addresses, a very long one, and full of vituperative remarks against the Government, appears in the collections of Mr David Laing. A short extract from this rather eloquent appeal (signed R. W., and fictitiously addressed to Mr William Thomas), will sufficiently explain its drift and meaning.

"The Chevalier has a peculiar sweetness of temper worked up into his constitution, which declares him the offspring of innocence and virtue, begot in the bed of tranquillity, and nursed up with the prayers and vows of his pious parents. His natural cheerfulness overbears his afflictions, and his unparalleled conduct convince the world of his royal extract. Were you to see him at Pesaro, you would fancy him encircled on a British throne, in his full height of prosperity, with no cares, no storms or tempests to invade his quiet. You would fancy the British Genius assume a pleasing air, and the Stewart laurels reflourish once more, and imbibe a fresh verdure.

"But view the tyrant here, and fancy yourself translated to the region of eternal darkness. You may read executions, horrors, and tortures, in his gloomy looks. His features are only the characters of blood, and warrants for execution are wrought in deep characters in his forehead. Nero's cruelty, with Sylla's extensive invention to destroy mankind, centre in this one man, to enable him to extirpate the race of mankind. Methinks I view the wretch in melancholy parade, making his procession from St James to his own brutish native country, attended in solemn pomp with prisoners loaded with chains, and going to receive sentence of death,—a triumph adapted to the cruel genius of a barbarian. See but his eyes fixed on the reliques of mangled loyalty on Temple-Bar! How the tyrant feeds upon the carrion, and gluts his senses with the grateful spectacle!"

As King George, when uninfluenced by a vindictive Whig ministry, was, in reality, a merciful sovereign, the hard epithets used in this party address were perfectly unmerited. Yet, after all, no bad effect was produced by the numerous appeals of a similar tendency which became circulated among the people. Among the Londoners there began to be shewn an extreme reluctance to see repeated in the English metropolis, the revolting spectacles of hanging, drawing, and beheading, which had taken place in Lancashire, and of which there had been hitherto one example only, namely, at Temple-Bar. This was first shewn in the case of juries, upon occasions when they were called to exercise their important privileges. They exhibited an invincible unwillingness, in opposition to the strongest possible evidence, to convict the prisoners whose lives depended upon their verdict.

(k) THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE LONDON JURIES TO CONVICT.

This was tested upon the day after the execution of Colonel Oxburgh, when the trials came on before the Court of Admiralty in the Marshalsea, of Richard Townley, Esq., and of Edward Tildesley of the Lodge, both of them representatives of two very old families in Lancashire, whose progenitors had participated in the Jacobite plots against William the Third.

In the course of evidence it was sworn, that there was a troop called Mr Townley's, among whom were enrolled his coachman, butler, and postilion; and that in a troop raised by Mr Tildesley, which went after his name, the commander of it himself rode at the head of his horsemen with his sword drawn.

The prisoners pleaded that what they did, was owing to their having been, in a manner, forced into the Jacobite insurrection; and, as the compassionate Jury took them at their word, a verdict of NOT GUILTY was returned.

Two days afterwards, on the court again sitting, Mr Baron Montague, in dismissing the Jury, reprimanded them for their behaviour in the late trials, in the cases of Mr Tildesley and Mr Townley. A fresh Jury, therefore, to gratify the Judge, found Captain Nicholas Wogan guilty.

Patten hints in his work, that the acquitted prisoners had found means to bribe the Jury. But this is a difficult supposition, of which no evidence is, or perhaps can, be produced.

(1) THE TRIAL OF MR HALL, MR GASCOIGNE, AND OTHERS.

On the 7th of May fourteen prisoners appeared before the Court of Westminster, who were allowed time for their defence; and on the 16th and 18th of the month, several other prisoners were tried, among whom were Mr Hall of Otterburn, Robert Talbot, Esq., formerly an officer in the French Service, and Richard Gascoigne, Esq., who were severally found guilty.

John Hall, Esq., of Otterburn, who, from his strange conduct, had been named "Mad Jack Hall of Otterburn," was a Justice of Peace in Northumberland. At the time when the Northumbrian Insurgents were passing through Alnwick, he left his brethren on the bench, with whom he had been transacting business, and, with great precipitation, ran off to Mr Forster, begging him to make prisoners at once of the whole of the Bench, including the County Clerk and his books,—a recommendation with which Mr Forster did not think fit to comply. Mr Hall was a violent, passionate, and indiscreet man, exhibiting conduct so little rational, that it became a question whether, on this ground, he ought not to have been at once discharged. Yet he was found guilty.

Mr Gascoigne was a Roman Catholic, and of an old Irish family. In the course of his trial, he was described as a gentleman who dressed very fine in laced scarlet clothes. But Patten and Oldmixon have given a fuller account of him. Mr Gascoigne had been heir to an estate, not very extensive, which he consumed among company of the first ton at Bath, in cards and dice. His progenitors had fought and bled in the service of Charles the First and James the Second, whence his loyalty to the Stewart family "had descended to him," as he professed, "from his ancestors." His intimacy with the leading Jacobites of the country, among whom was the Duchess of Ormond, was brought against him in the trial, as well as his connections with the Partisans of the Stewarts on the Continent. He had been instrumental in Sir

William Windham's conspiracy, upon the failure of which he had joined the Insurgents at Preston.

In the course of the trial, Mr Gascoigne pleaded a misnomer, which was ineffectual. At the same time, it is but too probable, from this gentlemen's subsequent Declaration, that some improper evidence against him had been admitted by the Court. He was found guilty and condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered on the 25th of May, at Tyburn.

Patten has preserved a letter written by Mr Gascoigne to a friend, a little before the execution took place. It possesses a strong religious feeling. In concluding, his words are the following: "I have nothing more than to desire your, and all good Catholic prayers; and to take care that the paper inclosed in this, a copy of which I intend, God willing, to give the Sheriff at the place of execution, may be made public as I have written it, and ask leave to subscribe, Dear Sir, your dying friend, and most humble servant, R. Gascoigne."

Some extracts from the printed copy of this declaration, published by order of the Sheriffs of London, may be added. The parts omitted are of little historical consequence, being merely Mr Gascoigne's strictures on the character of the evidence upon which he was found guilty :—

"I take it to be my Duty to leave this Paper behind me to refute those false Accusations and Calumnies that have been designedly spread by People, who I am afraid took Pains to procure unhappy Wretches to confirm them.

"In the first Place, I declare I dye an unworthy Member of the Holy Catholick, Apostolick Roman Church, and do acknowledge my self to be the greatest of Sinners; but, blessed be my GOD, I have a firm Confidence in the Sufferings of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by whose Merits I hope I shall be saved.

"I, from the Bottom of my heart, forgive all those that were my Enemies and Persecutors, and hope Almighty GOD, in his great Goodness, (and I beseech him to do it as heartily as I beg Pardon for my own Sins) will Pardon them, and give them Grace to Repent.

"And I earnestly beg Pardon of all those whom I have any ways offended or injured, and lament that it is not in my Power to make them Reparation; but as they expect to be forgiven, I hope they will do so to me. I also beg Pardon of all those whom I have disedified by my Life, or Conversation.

" That I have had an uncommon Ardour, or Zeal, in my Duty and Loyalty for my most Injured and Royal Sovereign King James the Third, I own at my Death, as I did to every one that knew me whilst I lived; and I affirm, that it was not only on the Account of his being a Roman Catholic, or any worldly Views, but from a true Sense of my Duty, as I took my self to be bound by the Laws of GOD and my Country, and as his succeeding to the Throne of his Ancestors could only make these Three Kingdoms happy, and from impartial Accounts of his Royal Person and Qualities, which make him one of the most meriting Princes in the World.

" My Loyalty descended to me from my Ancestors; my Father and Grandfather having had the Honour to be Sacrificed in doing their Duty to their Kings, Charles I. and James II.

* * * * * *

" And as I have, upon the Word of a dying Man, declar'd all these Truths, in order to caution People not to believe Reports, and to do all the Justice I am capable of doing; so now let me recommend to all People, to think of their Duties to GOD and their Country, and to heal all Divisions; and exhort them to think of the means of Uniting and Reconciling all their Interests, and Unite in the only Measure that can render them happy; which that they may do, I beg of Almighty GOD to direct them, and that they may compass it.

" I bless my GOD, who has given me the Grace to submit patiently to all the Injuries that have been done me, as also for enabling me to resist the many Temptations I have had frequently in Relation to a Gentleman, upon whose Account I presume they have taken my Life; because I would not concur to take away his Life: But GOD forgive them; I do heartily, and I humbly beg the Prayers of all good Christians.

" RICH. GASCOIGNE."

The 25th of May 1716.

(m) THE TRIAL OF SIR FRANCIS ANDERTON OF LOSTOCK, MR DALTON OF THURNHAM, AND OTHERS.

The event last narrated was succeeded, on the 31st of May, by the trials of about 17 prisoners.

On the 30th June, Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, a Lancashire Roman Catholic, who had been confined at Newgate, was indicted as a Baronet; but he pleaded that as false, because his elder Brother, a Catholic Priest beyond sea, was alive. He was found guilty, but soon afterwards pardoned. He was wont to say very cheerfully, that he had lost a good estate for being out with the rebels but one day.

Of the curious trial of John Dalton, Esq. of Thurnham, near Lancaster, Oldmixon has furnished us with a few particulars.

The Protestant Clergyman of Mr Dalton's Parish appeared as an evidence. He witnessed, that he had never heard the prisoner speak against the Government, and that this gentleman, a Roman Catholic, had sometimes expressed scruples regarding the Romish religion. It was demanded of the evidence by the Court, why he, a clergyman of the Church of England, had not endeavoured to improve, towards a conviction in the Protestant faith, the doubts which he had thus heard uttered, regarding the validity of Popish tenets. To this it was replied by the Minister, that he had made some essay that way, but that he had subsequently found Mr Dalton, upon these questions, altered in his judgment. The witness farther added, that Mr Dalton was a peaceable Roman Catholic, and that he had heard him, on several occasions, drink King George's health.

But notwithstanding these attempts to make Mr Dalton a doubtful Jacobite, other evidence against the prisoner was so very positive, that he was found guilty.

Mr Dalton then begged His Majesty King George's pardon, and desired the Court to interfere for an exercise of the Royal clemency.

The Lord Chief-Justice Parker gave the prisoner few hopes, observing that it would have been well for him to have sooner made a request for pardon, and that they were not his friends who had advised him to do otherwise. He also expressed his regret tha he had not better reasons than the present case afforded him, for recommending the interposition of the King's mercy.

However, eventually the life of Mr Dalton was spared. Along with this prisoner was tried William Tunstall, Esq., of a Yorkshire Roman Catholic family, who had served in the Insurgent force as Paymaster-General and Quartermaster-General. He was advanced in years, and had amused his tedious prison hours with writing poetry. He was found guilty.

On the 5th of July, four or five prisoners were tried at Southwark, and, about the same time, thirty prisoners, or more, were

arraigned at Westminster, among whom was the Rev. William Paul and James Menzies, Esq. of Culdare.

It will be recollected, that the Rev. William Paul had joined the Rebels at Lancaster. He left Preston upon leave to return to his friends, on the very morning when General Wills was within a few miles of Preston, preparing to attack the town. He afterwards appeared openly in London, not wearing Canonicals, but coloured clothes, together with a laced hat and long wig. But having been accidentally seen by a Leicestershire Justice of Peace, he was carried to the Secretary of State's office, who committed him to Newgate. Having been arraigned at Westminster on the 31st of May, he withdrew his plea of Not Guilty, which he had given in the hopes of pardon, and was condemned.

Mr Menzies of Culdare implored the King's mercy, on account of his having been drawn into the rebellion by those who, in consequence, enjoyed his estate.

After him some few more were tried.

(n) THE STATE MEASURES WHICH PASSED RELATIVE TO THE INSURGENTS.

During the course of these trials, measures were resolved upon for attainting the Earl of Mar, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Linlithgow, and others.—There was also a bill passed to indemnify such persons as had acted in defence of His Majesty's person and government, and for the preservation of the public peace of this kingdom, in and about the time of the late unnatural rebellions, from vexatious suits and prosecutions. Other bills were for attainting Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh of High Treason, and for appointing Commissioners to inquire into the estates of certain traitors, which were forfeited by the rebellion, and which the King had promised to give up for the present service. And, lastly, an act was passed for disarming the Highlanders of Scotland.

(o) THE REPRIEVE OF ALL THE PRISONERS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE REV. WM. PAUL, AND THOMAS HALL, ESQ. OF OTTERBURN.

The King, in conformity with his design to go over to Germany upon affairs of urgency, had, on the 7th of July, taken leave,—

when a Commission in Council was opened, ordering 24 of the Rebels to be executed on the Friday following the Royal departure. But the surprise and consternation which followed,—as hopes of mercy had been held out to most of them,—was not of long duration. On the Thursday a reprieve came down for twenty-two of the condemned persons,—two only having been left to their fates.

The individuals, unhappily condemned, were Mr Hall of Otterburn, Justice of Peace for Northumberland, and the Rev. William Paul. These were coupled by the vulgar, under the names of "Justice Hall and Parson Paul."

In proceeding to the place of execution, as the last car was drawn along, conveying Mr Hall, the populace gave a loud shout of "God save the King."

Mr Hall died with great bravery. Much curiosity was excited by the question, How Paul, a Non-Juror, would behave,—who had previously, but ineffectually, pleaded for mercy, asking pardon of God, the King, the Church, and the nation? But he died with signal courage. He appeared on the Gallows in his clerical gown and cassock, professing that he regarded not the barbarous part of the sentence, and wishing that he had quarters enough to send to every parish in the kingdom, in order that it might be testified, —that a clergyman of the Church of England had been martyred for being loyal to his King, James the Third.—[Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 640.]

Among the English who were eventually liberated, we find the names of Charles and Peregrine Widdrington, brothers to the Lord Widdrington, Walter Tancred, brother to Sir Thomas Tancred of Yorkshire, John Thornton of Netherwitton, Northumberland, John Clavering, Northumberland, who through interest had obtained a Noli prosequi, Captain Nicholas Wogan, whose generous usage at Preston to Captain Preston had successfully interceded for him, William Shaftoe of Bavington, Northumberland, James Swinbourn of Capheaton, Ralph Standish of Standish, Lancashire, Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, John Dalton of Thurnham, Thomas Errington of Beaufront, Thomas Riddle of Swinbourn Castle, besides many others.

Some Insurgents in the course of their imprisonment had escaped. Of these were Mr Charles Radcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, Mr Charles Wogan, who had behaved gallantly at Preston, Richard Stokoe, an old soldier, whom the Earl of Derwentwater had made his quarter-master, George Budden, upholsterer, of London, and a few more, already named.

Others had died in Prison, of whom were Edward, brother to James Swinbourn of Capheaton, Northumberland, George Gibson of Stonecroft, Northumberland, and Richard Butler of Rawcliffe, Lancashire.

The Lords Widdrington, Carnwath, and Nairn had their lives spared them, but their estates and titles were forfeited.

Of the Scots who were set at liberty a list was printed officially for the satisfaction of the Scottish relatives and friends of the captives.

In fine, of the numerous prisoners sent to the metropolis, six only had been brought to the scaffold!—a merciful result, when compared with the judicial sentences of Lancashire.

CHAPTER II.

THE DECLARATIONS OF PAUL AND HALL, ATTRIBUTED TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF DR DEACON, SUBSEQUENTLY OF MANCHESTER, AND THE GREAT PROMOTER OF THE LANCASHIRE MOVEMENT OF 1745.

The foregoing account of the execution of Paul and Hall, is that which is usually given of this event. But there was a transaction behind the scenes then going on, so importantly bearing upon the subsequent Lancashire movement of 1745, that it ought not to be withheld.

Immediately after Mr Paul had received a notice that his execution would take place in a few days, he wrote a very submis-

sive letter to Dr Tennyson, Archbishop of Canterbury, the great opponent of High Church Principles, for His Grace's interference, and begging, if his release should not be granted, "to be sent," as he expressed it, "to the Plantations, or any where, rather than to Tyburn." This petition was followed up by another, in still more penitent terms, wherein the prisoner sought to qualify, or deny various charges of rebellion which had been alleged against him, and again desired that "His Grace would endeavour to save him this time from the ignominious death of the Halter." And, lastly, on the night before his execution, Mr Paul made application to Lord Townshend, denying some assertions made against him by Patten, then evidence for the Crown, particularly that he had prayed in Newgate for King James, and imploring in more fervent language than ever, "that his life might be saved, in order that he might shew to the world how heartily he was sorrow for his bypast errors."

Such was the abject state of this unfortunate prisoner, so late even as the night before he suffered;—yet, at the place of execution, he delivered to the Sheriffs a declaration, which is unequalled for the loyal adherence, founded upon Non-juring principles, which he expressed towards James the Third.

How then is such an apparent transmutation of sentiments to be explained?

That the depressed, and even faint-hearted clergyman, was capable of writing the bold, argumentative, and even eloquent declaration which appeared under his name, and which, at the time, caused the greatest sensation, cannot for a moment be credited.

Nor is it, in like manner, possible, that the declaration which went under the name of Justice Hall, of a character precisely similar to the other, could have been written by an individual, who, so far from being a person of learning and intellect, had gone under the name of "Mad Jack Hall of Otterbourn."—[Patten, p. 142.]

The fact is, that a most fervent and enthusiastic Non-juror, of more than common erudition, had visited Paul and Hall in

their prison, and, after giving them absolution, agreeably to the tenets of the Non-juring Church, had drawn up for them declarations, which they were engaged to deliver to the Sheriffs at the scaffold, as it was naturally imagined that no occasion would occur more favourable to the Non-juring Cause. This officious Jacobite, to whom both the declarations were subsequently ascribed, was no other than Dr Deacon, then a young man, who thirty years afterwards was a prime agent in the Rebellion of 1745.

If any one would wish to correctly understand the Lancashire movement of 1745, in which Non-juring principles were most prominently put forward, he cannot do better than make these declarations his study, as the sentiments contained in them were those for which many of the individuals composing the Manchester Regiment, joined the Insurgent ranks, or sacrificed their lives on the public scaffold. As copies of these documents, so interesting to Lancashire History, are very scarce, they will be given at full length.

THE SPEECH OF WILLIAM PAUL, A CLERGYMAN.

Good People,

I am just going to make my Appearance in the other World, where I must give an Account of all the Actions of my past Life; and tho' I have endeavour'd to make my Peace with God, by sincerely repenting of all my Sins, yet forasmuch as several of them are of a publick Nature, I take it to be my Duty to declare here, in the Face of the World, my hearty Abhorrence and Detestation of them.

And first I ask Pardon of God and the King, for having violated my Loyalty, by taking most abominable Oaths, in Defence of Usurpation, against my lawful Sovereign King James the Third.

And as I ask Pardon of all Persons whom I have injured or offended, so I do especially desire Forgiveness of all those whom I have scandalized by pleading guilty. I am sensible that it is a base and dishonourable Action, that it is inconsistent with my Duty to the King, and an entire Surrender of my Loyalty. Human Frailty, and too great a desire of Life, together with the Perswasions of several who pretended to be my Friends, were the Occasion of it. I trust, God of his Infinite Mercy, upon my sincere Repentance, has forgiven me, and I hope all good Christians will.

You see, my Countrymen, by my Habit, that I die a Son, tho' a very un-

worthy one, of the Church of England; but I would not have you think that I am a Member of the Schismatical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up, in Opposition to those Orthodox Fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange. I declare that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful Member of the Non-juring Church, which has kept it self free from Rebellion and Schism, and has preserved and maintain'd true Orthodox Principles both as to Church and State; and I desire the Clergy, and all Members of the Revolution Church, to consider what Bottom they stand upon, when their succession is grounded upon an unlawful and invalid Deprivation of Catholick Bishops, the only Foundation of which Deprivation is a pretended Act of Parliament.

Having ask'd forgiveness for myself, I come now to forgive others. I pardon those who, under the Notion of Friendship, perswaded me to plead Guilty. I heartily forgive all my most inveterate Enemies, especially the Elector of Hanover, my Lord Townshend, and all others who have been instrumental in promoting my Death. FATHER, forgive them! LORD JESUS have Mercy upon them! and lay not this Sin to their Charge.

The next Thing I have to do, Christian Friends, is to exhort you all to return to your Duty. Remember that King James the Third is your only Rightful Sovereign, by the Laws of the Land, and the Constitution of the Kingdom; and therefore, if you would perform the Duty of Justice to him, which is due to all Mankind, you are obliged in Conscience to do all you can to restore him to his Crown, for it is his Right, and no Man in the World, besides himself, can lawfully claim a Title to it: and as it is your Duty to serve him, so it is your Interest; for till he is restor'd, the Nation can never be happy. You see what Miseries and Calamities have befallen these Kingdoms by the Revolution. And I believe you are now convinc'd by woful Experience, that swerving from GOD'S Laws, and thereby putting your selves out of His Protection, is not the Way to secure you from those Evils and Misfortunes which you are afraid of in this World. Before the Revolution you thought your Religion, Liberties and Properties in Danger; and I pray you to consider how you have preserved them by Rebelling? Are they not ten times more precarious then ever? Who can say he is certain of his Life or Estate, when he considers the Proceedings of the present Administration? And as for your Religion, is it not evident that the Revolution, instead of keeping out Popery, has let in Atheism? Do not Heresies abound every Day, and are not the Teachers of false Doctrines patronized by the Great Men in the Government? This shews the kindness and Affection they have for the Church: And, to give you another Instance of their Respect and Reverence for it, you are now going to see a Priest of the Church of England murdered for doing his Duty. For it is not me they strike at so particularly; but it is through me that they would wound the Priesthood, bring a Disgrace upon the Gown, and a Scandal upon my

sacred Function: But they would do well to remember, That he who despises Christ's Priests, despises Christ; and he who despises him, despises him that sent him.

And now, Beloved, if you have any Regard to your Country, which lies bleeding under these dreadful Extremities, bring the King to his just and undoubted Right. That is the only way to be freed from these Misfortunes, and to secure all those Rights and Privileges which are in Danger at Present. King James has promised to protect and defend the Church of England; he has given his Royal Word to consent to such Laws which you your selves shall think necessary to be made for its Preservation; and his Majesty is a Prince of that Justice, Virtue and Honour, that you have no Manner of Reason to doubt the Performance of his Royal Promise. He studies nothing so much as how to make you all easie and happy; and whenever he comes to his Kingdom, I doubt not but you will be so.

I shall be heartily glad, good People, if what I have said has any Effect upon you, so as to be instrumental in making you perform your Duty. It is out of my Power now to do any Thing more to serve the King, than by employing some of the few Minutes I have to live in this World, in praying to Almighty God to shower down his Blessings, Spiritual and Temporal, upon his Head, to protect him and restore him, to be favourable to his Undertaking, to prosper him here, and to reward him hereafter. I beseech the same Infinite Goodness to preserve and defend the Church of England, and to restore it to all its just Rights and Privileges. And lastly, I pray God have Mercy upon me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul into his Everlasting Kingdom, that with the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, I may praise and magnifie him for ever and ever. Amen.

As to my Body, Brethren, I have taken no Manner of Care of it; for I value not the barbarous Part of the Sentence, of being cut down and quarter'd. When I am once gone, I shall be out of the Reach of my Enemies, and I wish I had Quarters enough to send to every Parish of the Kingdom, to testifie that a Clergyman of the Church of England was Martyr'd for being loyal to his King.

July 13. 1716. JOHN PAUL.

THE SPEECH OF JOHN HALL, ESQ.

FRIENDS, BRETHREN, and COUNTRYMEN,

I am come here to die for the Sake of GOD, my King, and my Country, and I heartily rejoice that I am counted worthy of so great an Honour; for let not any one of you think that I am come to a shameful and ignominious

End. The Truth and Justice of the Cause for which I suffer, makes my Death a Duty, a Virtue, and an Honour. Remember that I lay down my Life for asserting the Right of my only lawful Sovereign King James the Third: That I offer myself as a Victim for the Liberties and Happiness of my dear Country, and my beloved Fellow-Subjects: That I fall a Sacrifice to Tyranny Oppression, and Usurpation. In short, consider, that I suffer in the Defence of the Commands of God, and the Laws and Hereditary Constitution of the Land; and then know, and be assured, that I am not a Traitor, but a Martyr.

I declare that I die a true and sincere Member of the Church of England, but not of the Revolution Schismatical Church, whose Bishops have so rebelliously abandoned the King, and so shamefully given up the Rights of the Church, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, Lay Deprivations of the Prince of Orange. The Communion I die in, is that of the True Catholick, Nonjuring Church of England, and I pray God to prosper and increase it, and to grant (if it be his good Pleasure) that it may rise again and flourish.

I heartily beg Pardon of all whom I have in any Manner, and at any Time, injured or offended. I do particularly implore Forgiveness of God, and my King, for having so far swerv'd from my Duty, as to comply with the Usurpation, in swearing Allegiance to it, and acting in publick Posts by the Usurper's Commissions, which were void of all Power and Authority. God knows my Heart, I did this at first through Ignorance and Error; but after I had recollected myself, and inform'd my Judgment better, I repented, and drew my Sword for the King; and now submit my self to this violent Death for his Sake. I heartily pray God my Penitence and my Sufferings may atone for my former Crime; and this I beg through the Merits, Mediation and Sufferings of my dearest Saviour, Christ Jesus.

I do sincerely forgive all my Enemies, especially those who have either caused or increased the Destructions in Church or State. I pray God have Mercy upon them, and spare them, because they are the Work of his own Hands; and because they are redeemed with his Son's most precious Blood. I do particularly forgive from the Bottom of my Heart, the Elector of Brunswick, who murders me; my unjust pretended Judges and Jury who convicted and condemned me; Mr Patten and Mr Carnaby, Evidences who swore against me at my Trial. And I do hereby declare, upon the Words of a dying Man, (and all my Northumberland Fellow-prisoners can testifie the same) that the Evidence they gave was so far from being the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, that, in relation to my Indictment, they swore not one true Thing against me, but many absolute Falsehoods. I pray God forgive them, for I am sure I do.

Lastly, I forgive all who had any hand in the Surrender at Preston, for they have surrender'd away my Life; and I would to God that were the only bad Consequence of it. But alas! it is too plain, that the Surrenderers not only

ruined many of his Majesty's brave and faithful Subjects, but gave up their King and Country into the Bargain. For it was then in their Power to have restor'd the King with Triumph to his Throne; and thereby to have made us a happy People. We had repulsed our Enemies at every Attack, and were ready, willing, and able to have attack'd them.

On our Side, even our common Men were brave, couragious and resolute; On the other Hand, theirs were directly the contrary; insomuch that, after they had run away from our first Fire, they could never be brought so much as to endeavour to stand a second. This I think my self oblig'd in Justice to mention, that Mr Wills may not impose upon the World, as if he and his Troops had conquer'd us, and gain'd the Victory; for the Truth is, after we had conquer'd them, our Superiors thought fit to capitulate and ruin us. I wish them GOD'S and the King's Pardon for it.

May it please the Almighty to bless, preserve, and restore our only rightful and lawful Sovereign King James the Third; may He direct his Counsels, and prosper his Arms; may He bring him to his Kingdom, and set the Crown upon his head.

May He protect him from the Malice of his Enemies, and defend him from those who for a Reward would slay him innocent: May He grant him in Health and Wealth long to live: May He strengthen him, that he may vanquish and overcome all his Enemies. And finally, when it pleases His Infinite Wisdom to take him out of this World, may He take him to himself, and reward him with an Everlasting Crown of Glory in the next.

These, my beloved Countrymen, are the sincere Prayers; these the last Words of me, who am now a dying Person. And if you have any Regard to the last Breath of one who is just going out of the World, let me beg of you to be dutiful, obedient, and loyal to your only Sovereign Liege Lord, King James III. Be ever ready to serve him, and be sure you never fail to use all your Endeavours to restore him; and whatever the Consequence be, remember that you have a good Cause, and a Gracious God, and expect a recompense from him.

To that God, the God of Truth and Holiness, the Rewarder of all who suffer for Righteousness Sake, I commend my soul, beseeching Him to have Mercy upon it, for the Sake of my dear Redeemer and Merciful Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord, AMEN, Amen, Amen. JOHN HALL.

July 13. 1716.

[In a postscript to the above, Mr Hall states, that after five reprieves, his life might have been spared, if, in pleading guilty, he had disowned his king, and denied his principles. But he thanks God for inspiring him with his present holy resolution.]

CHAPTER III.

THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNION, PROMOTED BY THE NON-JURORS, UNDER THE TITLE OF " THE TRUE CATHOLIC NON-JURING CHURCH OF ENGLAND."

It has been already pointed out, that the Declarations, published under the names of Paul and Hall, were not only designed to promote Jacobite, but also Non-juring principles. They were intended to give publicity to the independent religious communion promoted by the Non-jurors, under the title of " The true Catholic Non-juring Church of England."

This scheme was projected by some of the High Church Tories, when they began to find their numbers rapidly decreasing, and their influence to be on the decline.

In a former part of this History it has been explained, that by the powerful stand made by Dr Tennyson, and the majority of the Bishops, against principles directed to Jacobitism, aided also by the vigilance of the Government, the High Church Tories were beginning to discover, that the doctrines which they taught as ecclesiastical precepts, would never be allowed to find root within the pale of the English Church, as it was then constituted; and that no chance remained for the propagation of their tenets, except by modelling an independent church of their own, opposed to the usual oaths of allegiance and abjuration exacted by the reigning Sovereign, and consequently forming a non juring Church. A church of this kind had, in fact, been long an ideal one among the High Church Tories, at the time when they formed a most powerful party within the Church of England itself; but, as the event of the Rebellion of 1715 had altered their position,

whence they found their influence on the wane, no chance seemed to remain for them, except to denounce the communion of which Dr Tennyson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the head, as "a schismatical church, whose bishops had set themselves up, in opposition to those orthodox fathers who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange."—[See page 233.]

They also pronounced their own Non-juring Church to be the true church of England, which maintained an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, of those who administered to Christ's ordinances; adding, at the same time, that, as the deprivation of Bishops by lay authority was invalid of itself, the authority of the Church of England was resident in the deprived Bishops and Clergy, and remained to the Non-jurors, their successors, who had been true to the ecclesiastical constitution and principles which they had received from Apostolic times.

Among the various individuals who distinguished themselves in the Non-juring attempt to set up the true Church of England, and to denounce the existing communion as schismatic, no one was so active as the well-known Dr Deacon, subsequently of Manchester. He was then a sort of Non-juring Priest, as well as Physician, who first made himself known, as appears in the prior chapter, by attending the last moments of the Rev. William Paul and Justice Hall.

Soon after this declaration had been delivered to the world, Dr Deacon came to settle in Manchester, where, for many years, he inculcated the same Non-juring principles which had been published in the names of Paul and Hall, until at length they led to the Manchester movement of 1745.*

* The share which Dr Deacon had in the confessions of Paul and Hall, is frequently adverted to by the controversial writers of 1745, particularly by Mr Owen, a Presbyterian Divine of Rochdale.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CLEMENCY SHEWN TO THE INSURGENT PRISONERS OF SCOTLAND, IN CONTRAST WITH THE VINDICTIVE PROCEEDINGS CARRIED ON IN LANCASHIRE.

It is not of very difficult explanation, why the insurgents, if they had been taken prisoners in Scotland, should have met with lenity and mercy, and why they should have been rendered liable to vindictive punishments inflicted upon them, if they had become prisoners of war in England.

The fact was, that the English Government did not venture upon the experiment of exhibiting in the metropolis of Scotland, the judicial scenes of blood which had been displayed in Lancashire, or even, though to a very far less degree, in London. They were too much alarmed at the idea of creating among Scotsmen a still greater opposition to the measure of the Union. A general order was therefore sent to liberate numerous gentlemen who had been confined when the rebellion first broke out, and to extend the royal pardon to such of the Scots as had deserted from the Rebels before their retreat from Perth, as well as to the servants who had been prisoners with their masters in London. The Marquis of Huntley, Mr Douglas, Glengary, and others, were pardoned for having quitted the Rebels in time.

(a) THE TRIALS OF SCOTTISH INSURGENTS AT CARLISLE.

That the Whig Government of England, by this show of clemency, had made a virtue of necessity, is quite evident; for so far from a sincere wish to pardon the insurgents who were made prisoners in Scotland, they only thought of some mode by which they could inflict capital punishment with impunity; and, as they would not attempt such severe proceedings before the very

eyes of Scotsmen, they appointed, on the 1st of September, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to sit at Carlisle, in order to try, on English ground, such of the Scottish rebels as they aimed to sacrifice to their vindictive policy.

Accordingly, the prisoners in Stirling Castle and Blackness were first removed to Edinburgh, and thence to Carlisle, where they arrived on the twelfth of September.

But the Lawyers of Scotland were more than a match for those in England. They insisted that the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, being a competent judicatory, English Judges had no right, according to the terms of the Union, to try such as had transgressed in Scotland. The Judges, after a long debate, then became more favourable than they had previously designed to be, towards the prisoners, and although 24 had received sentence of death, no day was appointed for their execution, and the rest of the prisoners were never sentenced at all. Eventually, after a few months' imprisonment, all the prisoners at Carlisle obtained their discharge.—[Impartial account of the Rebellion, given in Dr Wallace's History of Scotland; Dublin, 1724.]

(b) THE GREAT MASS OF THE INSURGENTS, REMAINING IN THE PRISONS OF LANCASHIRE AND OF CHESTER, TRANSPORTED TO THE COLONIES.

After the disastrous events of Preston Fight, the Rebel Prisoners had entertained the illusive idea, that the Government would not venture to take the life of one of them, and that they durst not issue out proceedings against so great a number of insurgents. But, after finding, from the numerous executions which had actually taken place in England, that the Government did not shrink, in Lancashire, from having recourse to the most rigorous measures, such of the unhappy Captives as had escaped the trials of Liverpool, and still lingered within their respective prisons, tried the experiment of joining in an humble petition to the Court, wherein they declared themselves guilty, and of begging that a capital punishment might be remitted for transportation.

To this petition it would seem, that, except in the case of five

prisoners, who, with similar hopes, had pleaded guilty, the judges consented. An end was thus put to legal proceedings, and many of the prisoners were left to the merchants of Liverpool, to be transported to the plantations of America.

It does not appear what the relative number of the prisoners were, who, in the prisons of Lancashire, had their sentences commuted for transportation. In the MS. journal of William Stout, a Quaker, there is the following notice of what took place in Lancaster Castle. "About 200 of the prisoners," says this writer, "continued here a year, and about 50 of them dyed, and the rest were transported to America."

It is not improbable, however, considering the implacable disposition of the Ministry, that the expense of supporting so many prisoners in the different jails of England had much influenced their determination. "This year," remarked William Stout, in speaking of the town of Lancaster, "provisions were plenty and cheap, as also horse and hay; and although a regiment of Dragoons was quartered here all the winter, hay was as cheap at the spring as at the fall; and although it was hard upon Innkeepers, it was a profit to the country, and it was computed that the Dragoons and Prisoners maintained this year, amounted to at least L.3000."

(c) THE EXECUTIONS AT LANCASTER IN THE AUTUMN OF 1716.

The legal proceedings, which, in the case of prisoners taken in Scotland, the Whig Government did not venture to carry out at Carlisle, they found no difficulty in adopting at Lancaster, in the case of Prisoners taken in England, as, for instance, at Preston. In the autumn Assizes of Lancashire, which immediately succeeded to the sitting of the Court at Carlisle, Scottish and English blood was alike shed on the scaffold.

King George, who had in reality "a merciful disposition," was then in Germany. No doubt his Majesty had been much concerned at the amount of lives which had been sacrificed in Lancashire, and had interfered to prevent London from being the disgraceful scene of as many executions, as had taken place among

the various towns of Lancashire. While nothing, therefore, was heard of in Scotland, and even in London, but commendations of King George's "merciful disposition," a tragedy was acting at Lancaster, which defies any explanation whatever, except that it was perpetrated by the Whig Ministry, unknown to his Majesty, and while George Prince of Wales, renowned for his implacable disposition in 1745, was "Guardian of the kingdom of Great Britain, and his Majesty's Lieutenant in the same."

Whether this was a cause sufficient to explain, why the names of five rebels executed at so late a period as that of October 20th, 1716, should have disgraced the calendar of the Lancaster Assizes, it may not be very easy to determine. Yet such was the fact.

The names of the individuals who then suffered, appear to have been Captain Bruce, John Winckley, Thomas Shuttleworth, George Hodgson, and —— Charnley.—[See Baines's Lancashire, vol. iv. p. 326.]

Of the reasons for this most sanguinary proceeding, no account has hitherto appeared; the names alone of the unfortunate sufferers having been handed down to us. Granting even the most unfavourable supposition,—namely, that they had escaped from Preston during the time of the Armistice agreed upon,—even such an event becomes unjustifiable with the fact before us, that Rebels, whose cases presented circumstances much less defensible, had been previously made partakers of the Royal Clemency.

We are enabled, through the kindness of Mr David Laing of Edinburgh, to republish the declaration of Captain Bruce, a Scottish Episcopalian, made on the Scaffold, which was printed for the satisfaction of his friends in Scotland, wherein the affair presents the worst of complexions. The victim complains, that, having been a stranger to the laws of England, a legal advantage had been taken of his ignorance.

But let the document, which is a perfectly genuine one, speak for itself:

A TRUE COPY OF THE PAPER DELIVERED TO THE SHERIFF, BY CAPTAIN JOHN BRUCE, WHO WAS EXECUTE AT LANCASTER, THE 2D OF OCTOBER 1716.

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

I AM brought to this Place to discharge the Debt I owe to Nature, and do chearfully resign to the Blessed Will of Almighty GOD, whose Mercies I adore, in that He has afforded me His Grace and Means sincerely to Repent me of my past Sins, and such Time to prepare for that blessed and glorious Change, which I hope to meet with in a few Minutes.

I'm not ashamed for that Cause for which I die; but rejoice that I am worthy to be a Sacrifice, in the Vindication of the undoubted Right of my Lawful and Natural Liege Lord, King James the Third, and the Expiring Liberties of my dear Country.

I always believed the Hereditary Right of Succession to the Imperial Crowns of these Realms to be a Fundamental and Unalterable Part of the Constitution; and could never think that any Difference in Religion, or any of the pretended Laws which never yet received the Regal Assent of any Lawful King, could aniwise disengage me, or any honest Man, from that Duty and Allegiance which is due to our lawful Sovereign King James the Third, whose Title, by Birthright, is clear and unquestionable: And was therefore engaged, by the strictest Obligations of true Honour, Religion and Law, to join with his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, in the Just Endeavours to Restore him to his Rights, and break thro' the Usurpation and Fence of Rebellion which hath so long kept him from them. GOD, in His Mercy, forgive these Kingdoms, incline the Hearts of the People, as one Man, to bring in their Lawful King, and free themselves from the merciless Tyranny they now groan under.

I'm now grown in Years, and not much short of what the Royal Psalmist calls the Age of Man; and have known many Struggles, in order to preserve the Constitution, and sinking Liberty of the People, and several Turns and Changes that have ensued: In all which, praised be GOD, I preserved my Integrity, by a strict Adherence to my King and Country; opposing, as far as in me lay, the Innovations that were daily introduced to the Injury of the one and enslaving of the other.

As one Wickedness is the Parent of another, so the Revolution begat the Union, and from these Sources flow the Waters of Bitterness, which the Good People of these Nations so plentifully drink of at this Time. May GOD, of His infinite Mercy, work their speedy Deliverance, and restore them to their ancient happy Constitution and Government.

As for my Religion, I was bred up a Protestant according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, wherein I have ever lived, and in

which, by GOD'S Grace and Mercy, I shall die. It taught me to give both GOD and my King Their Due, to deal justly with all Men, forgive mine Enemies, and expect Salvation thro' Jesus Christ. Her Doctrine and Government I embrace, and pray GOD to restore her to her former Purity, Peace and Prosperity.

I beseech all whom I have anywise offended to forgive me, as I, from the Bottom of my Heart, do all who have anywise injured me, and particularly those who were concerned in my Prosecution, or anywise Instrumental in promoting my Death. I forgive that greatest of Injuries, their surprising me into a Confession of their Indictment, by bringing me to a Trial Two Days before the Time mentioned in their Notice, and without ever giving me any Copy of their Jury; being a Scotsman, and a Stranger to the Laws of England, I was the more liable to be imposed upon: GOD forgive them, as I freely do.

I think it incumbent on me to take this last Opportunity of vindicating my Honour from that Report which traduced me, as unfaithful to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, whilst I had the Honour, which was about 24 Years, to be with him as a Companion and humble Servant: And hereby declare, upon the Words of a Dying Man, and as I shall answer it before Almighty GOD, that what hath been said to asperse me upon that Account, was intirely False; and any Displeasure his Grace conceived against me concerning it, intirely Groundless. I always loved him, and dealt faithfully by that Noble Duke, as GOD, the Righteous Judge, will witness for me.

Thus have I discharged my Conscience; and now, blessed be Almighty GOD, that hath brought me to this happy Period of my Pilgrimage. I have finished a long Course, and adhered, without Wavering, to my King, the LORD'S Anointed, his Cause; for, and in which I die: And I hope this Day to be with my Saviour, translated thither, to rejoice with other Loyal Sufferers, and all the Saints and Angels, for Evermore.

Sic Subscribitur,

JOHN BRUCE.

Lancaster, October 2, 1716.

The task of recording the executions of Lancashire is now finished, which became the more revolting when compared with the leniency which the Insurgents experienced in Scotland. "In Scotland," says a writer, "none were executed at all, except one John Knox, who was shot at Perth for deserting, and a sergeant of the Castle of Edinburgh, who was to have assisted in getting the castle to the party that attempted taking of it."—[Impartial Account of the Rebellion, &c. Printed, Dublin, 1724.]

CHAPTER V.

THE MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING THE ALLEGIANCE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT; AND FOR REFUNDING THOSE WHO HAD SUFFERED LOSSES DURING THE REBEL CAMPAIGN.

These several measures will be explained in succession.

(a) THE ACT AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICS, NON-JURORS, &c.

The Government next sought, by various measures, to provide legislative securities against the English Parties who had appeared most active in the Rebellion, among whom the Roman Catholics, and that party of the High Church who distinguished themselves as Non-jurors, were the most prominent.

The short notice which I subjoin, is extracted from Mr Baines's History of Lancashire, vol. ii. p. 67.

" The oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the reigning family were now strongly urged, both upon the Clergy and Laity of this kingdom, and an act of Parliament was passed, wherein, among other matters, it was directed, that all Roman Catholics, Non-jurors, and others, who refused to take these oaths, should transmit to commissioners, appointed for the purpose, a register of their estates, setting forth in what parish and township the lands were situated, by whom they were occupied, the annual value at which they were estimated, and the names, titles, additions, and places of abode of their owners. Under the operation of this act, returns were made to the Commissioners of estates in the various counties of England to the yearly amount of L.358,194 : 5 : $3\frac{3}{4}$, of which sum the estates in Lancashire yielded L.13,158, 10s."

The following proportions are given in Mr Baines's work, among which there is a very slight mistake of L.7.

73	Estates of Catholics, Non-jurors, &c., in	Amounderess	Hundred,	L.2660 1 3
29	. . . . .	Blackburn	do.	972 10 2
54	. . . . .	Layland	do.	1463 13 1½
25	. . . . .	Lonsdale	do.	1432 8 0
17	. . . . .	Salford	do.	721 1 3
122	. . . . .	West Derby	do.	5901 16 2½
				L.13,151 10 0

By this act, it is added, "the mass of landed property was placed in jeopardy; but it does not appear that the owners were dispossessed of their estates, or that any use was ever made of the registers, except that they were published in the year 1745, "with a view to assist the magistrates and other officers entrusted with the execution of the orders of Government, for suppressing the growth and unhappy effects of the insurrection in the North."

"A list of the Papists who registered their estates, and the respective value thereof, then follows, from which it appears that the number of the Lancashire estates, amounting to 465, were valued at L.27,903 : 7 : 9¼, and that those of the other counties in England, were rated at L.375,284 : 15 : 3."

Mr Baines then adds a list of the Lancashire estates of the estimated value of L.100 or upwards.—[Hist. of Lanc., vol. iv., p. 327 and 766.]

(b) ACT FOR REFUNDING, FROM THE FORFEITED ESTATES, THE LOSSES SUSTAINED DURING THE REBEL CAMPAIGN.

It was the object of two acts of parliament to indemnify the public, as well as individuals who had suffered losses during the campaign, for the injuries they had sustained, "out of the estates of certain traitors and Popish recusants; and for vesting the forfeited estates in the hands of trustees, to be sold for the use of the Public, and for giving relief to lawful creditors by determining their claims."

The Commissioners and Trustees first opened their commission in London, and thence adjourned to Preston. The claims of loss made at the latter place, amounted in number to 226, and, in value, to L.6462 : 8 : $10\frac{3}{4}$. For the purpose of indemnification, the estate of Richard Chorley, Esquire, situated at Chorley and Walton-cum-Fazakerley, was sold to Mr Abraham Crompton, for L.5550, while a property of Lord Widdrington in Lancashire, brought L.32,400.

In every part of Lancashire, where the estates lay of persons actually engaged in the Rebellion, much confusion arose, an example of which is given by William Stout, the Lancaster Quaker, in his journal.

"We were in such hurry and danger this and last year, that I had not opertunity to take account of my effects for last and this year which I now do . . which advance I am to be thankfull for to Divine Providence seeing there was much hazard of losing more than the profite If not all.

I had much trouble with Ellin Jaynson's Leasehold house which she had from Robert Dalton Esquir of Thername but particulary in the year 1716 about the time of the Rebelion, the Landlord Esquir Dalton being actualy in the Rebelion and convicted. Upon it his estate was forfeited to the King wch caused the charge and trouble to ye tenants to prove their Leases and a Comitty of Parlament came to Preston whither all persons in the County who were tennants or had any claym upon the persons convicted were to appear to prove their leases or claime. I appeared and proved the Lease. The tenemt was leased by Edmund Gartside a favorite of Esquir Dalton, who after redeemed his Estate, which was entailed, and he only tennant for life, for wch he gave the Government L.6000.

"1717. The nation seems now to be setled and quiet from the late disturbance and Magistrates changed, but not for the better in this Town, who pretend to be Loyall, but yet oppress some of the best friends of the King. James Fenton (the Vicar of Lancaster) now prosecuts his neighbors the Quakers for Tyths before Charles Rigby and Thomas Shearson, Justices, for small Tythes for two years of about 4d a year in two actions who grant him costs each 9s. 6d. the Law not alowing above 10s. under L.10 proved and for about 20s. demanded granted L.10 costs, when the Justices turned out for disloyalty did not alow him ye 10th part so much for the like demand, which shews their Insincerity."

CHAPTER VI.

THE REWARDS GIVEN TO SUCH INDIVIDUALS IN LANCASHIRE AS HAD SIGNALISED THEMSELVES AGAINST THE REBELLION.

Government liberally rewarded such as had contributed to put down, or discountenance the Rebellion. We shall, however, notice the recompenses made to two or three individuals only, whose names have occurred in this history, namely, the Rev. Samuel Peploe, Vicar of Preston, and the Presbyterian Pastors who headed an armed force at Ribble Bridge.

(a) THE REV. SAMUEL PEPLOE REWARDED.

The Rev. Samuel Peploe, a churchman of strong Whig principles, refused, even when the Insurgents were in Preston, to pray for any sovereign but King George. His conduct recommended him to Government, and he was rewarded, upon the death of Dr Wroe, with the Wardenship of Manchester, and afterwards with the Bishopric of Chester, both offices of which he held simultaneously.

(b) THE TWO PRESBYTERIAN PASTORS REWARDED.

Other individuals rewarded were, the Rev. James Woods and Mr Walker, two Presbyterian ministers of Lancashire. These courageous men, supported by armed parties of their respective flocks, and wielding fire-arms and even various rustic weapons of husbandry, had defended the pass of the Ribble Fords with so much bravery, as to gain the approbation of General Wills.

It is usually supposed that the Party was headed by one Pastor only, James Woods of Chowbent; but Rae makes him accompanied with a Mr Walker, another Dissenting minister of Lancashire, both of whom, according to his statement, were rewarded by Government. Mr Rae adds as follows:—"We are told that after the General [Wills] went up to London, he was pleased to notify their good conduct on that occasion to the Government, which generously settled on each of 'em L.100 per annum."—[Rae's History, &c. p. 318.]

Mr Baines's authority [see his Lancashire, vol. iii., p. 612], whom he quotes, states that Mr Woods, the Pastor of the Chowbent Congregation, not only distributed his pension among his brave followers, but also devoted it to the erection in his village of a Dissenting meeting-house, which was built in 1722.

But very little indeed is known about Woods, whose name is still popular in the traditions of his village as "The old General." I recently sought for information from the Rev. Dr Harrison, the present very intelligent Presbyterian Pastor of Chowbent, which he kindly endeavoured to procure; but the commencement of the search was most unpromising. He found no chapel archives whatever, which could throw any important light upon the history of Woods, in place of which there was freely imparted a number of gossiping stories regarding him, from which it would appear, that if he possessed an organ of Combativeness, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, it shone more in the field of physical, than of polemic warfare.*

* As General Woods' name is still renowned in Lancashire, I have been induced to add the result of Dr Harrison's traditional inquiries relative to this Hero of Preston Fight, which, however, extend to little more than the facetiæ reported of him, the pith of which may demand a little knowledge of the Lancashire idiom to correctly estimate.

PARSONAGE, CHOWBENT, Feb. 1. 45.

DEAR SIR,—I have instituted every inquiry in my power in reference to my predecessor Mr Wood (- s?); but the result is most unsatisfactory. I have consulted documents in the family of the Valentines (one of the oldest Dissenting families in the neighbourhood); but to no purpose. I waited for the return of the Miss Davises, daughters of the Rev. B. R. Davis (who were from

Dr Harrison was not, however, quite disheartened at his incipient want of success; for, upon farther inquiry, he learned, that, in a remarkably scarce volume, published more than half a century ago, which had a local interest only, being an eulogium to the memory of Mr John Mort of Atherton, some particulars of "the old General" were to be found. Accordingly, I was so fortunate as to obtain, through the exertions of my active friend, a loan of the same, and it was from this source that the valuable historical information was derived, which has been already given, relative to the aid which General Wills received from the armed Presbyterian congregation of Chowbent. The work is entitled "A Short View of the Life, Sentiments, and Character of Mr John Mort, &c. &c. By H. Toulmin." It was printed at London, in the year 1793.

home when I last wrote), under the expectation that they might be able to furnish me with some information. They state, however, that among their Father's MSS. they find nothing relating to the early history of this congregation,—at any rate, nothing additional to the facts contained in Baines's History of Lancashire. It appears that Mr Davis once endeavoured to gain materials for a biography of "the old General," as he was styled; but beyond a few anecdotes, something in the strain of "the witty sayings of the late Parson Owen," could obtain nothing.

Old Woods appears to have been distinguished for his quaint humour. On one occasion, being asked why he so so seldom made an exchange with any neighbouring minister (though considered a tolerable preacher), he replied, "Why mon, if ony body wer to come and prach better than me, they'd not loik to hear me again; and if he prached wūr (worse), it's a shāme for him 't' prach."

It is said (on dit), that when the chapel was (if I may use the expression.) a-building, or being built, he went to Squire Hulton, and asked for 20 oaks, to which the Squire replied, "Nay man! but I'll give you ten." "Thank you," said the General, "just the number I want; for I knew you would only give me the half of my demand."

This is about the extent of my information in reference to this energetic, if not talented man. I cannot but think that there has been a culpable negligence, in allowing the memory of one whose active exertions founded our venerable house of prayer, thus to pass away, or to survive only in connection with a stray jest, or sally of imagination. From a mural inscription over the pulpit, I learn that he 60 years presided over the congregation of Protestant Dissenters in this place. Where he was born, however, like the advent of many great men, seems to be shrouded in mystery; and I think it may almost be said in the language of Scripture, "That his resting place no man knoweth."

Dr Harrison's letter describes two other "conceits" of "the old General," which, being of trivial consequence, are omitted.

With the aid of this volume, and of Mr Dorning Rasbotham's notice "of the old General," published by Mr Baines (Hist. of Lancashire, vol. iii., p. 61), a correction has taken place of several gross mistakes which have hitherto been published of this Lancashire worthy.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE RELATIVE TO THE REVEREND JAMES WOOD, OR WOODS, AS HE IS VARIOUSLY NAMED.

Both the father and grandfather of the Chowbent minister were ejected ministers of Lancashire.

His grandfather held the living of Ashton in Mackerfield, who, upon the Act of Uniformity being passed in the reign of Charles II., conscientiously relinquished his post. He died about the year 1688.

His father, the Rev. James Woods senior, found a great friend, during his privations and adversity, in Mr John Mort of Warton Hall, in the parish of Dean. This gentleman, the representative of an ancient Lancashire family, had been attached, during the civil wars, to the cause of Charles I.; but subsequently he sympathised with the Presbyterians in their sufferings, and espoused their tenets. Mr James Woods [the father] usually officiated in the assembly who met at Mr Mort's house for the purpose of divine worship; but, after the Act of Toleration had passed, he presided over a congregation of Presbyterians at Atherton, in the parish of Leigh, who assembled within the walls of a small brick edifice, built in 1648, at Chowbent, a village in the township of Atherton, for the accommodation of the tenants and domestics of the Atherton family.

The Rev. James Woods, the son, and one of the Heroes of Preston Fight, was born in or about the year 1672. He succeeded, after the death of his father, to the ministry of the Chowbent congregation; which appointment must have taken place at or near the date of 1699.

Some few years afterwards, the Mort family removed from Warton Hall to Owler Fold, at that time the only freehold in the township of Atherton which was not dependent on the Atherton family. The representative of the house was Nathan, grandson of Mr John Mort (the early friend and patron of the father of James Woods), and the son of Mr Robert Mort, commemorated by Matthew Henry as "a gentleman that feared God among many."

Mr Nathan Mort, upon finding himself a neighbour of James Woods, felt all the influence of old family associations and friendships, and, in becoming much attached to the Presbyterian pastor, interested himself greatly on behalf of the Chowbent congregation.

A little before the date of the Rebellion of 1715, as we are informed by Mr

Dorning Rasbotham, there existed a branch of the family of Morts, named by this writer "the oldest Branch," who were at that time High Churchmen. "One of them," according to this account, "had left the annual sum of L.55 to the orthodox minister of the place. Woods was deemed a schismatic; and the payment had been withheld till the sum amounted to L.300. One Mort, a counsellor, by whose advice the money had been withheld, and in whose hands it was at this time, died; his successor, less scrupulous, paid the whole to Woods, and it was this sum which enabled him to march his men to Preston."

There is some reason to suspect, that the foregoing statement is not in every respect accurate; but more particularly that part of it which relates to the sum of L.300 having enabled Woods to march his men to Preston. [See page 117.]

The assistance which this energetic man rendered to the force of General Wills has been duly recorded. Mr Rasbotham states, that "Woods received a gratuity of L.100 from His Majesty, which he generously distributed among his men, and which was expended in the erection of a new dissenting meeting-house." Rae, however, in his very authentic History of the Rebellion, gives a different version of the amount of the reward. It was not a simple gratuity of L.100, but an ANNUAL PENSION of L.100.

From 1720 to 1722, there appears to have been a violent electioneering dispute between the Presbyterians of Chowbent and the Lord of the Manor, which caused the Old Chapel of the Atherton family, wherein they had been so long accustomed to assemble, to be taken away from them. It then became an Episcopal chapel, having been consecrated for that purpose by Dr Wilson, at that time Bishop of the Isle of Man, the patronage of which was vested in the Atherton family.

When the enthusiastic pastor of Chowbent saw his temple wrested from him, he made every possible exertion to repair the grievous loss. He made applications not only to his congregation, but even to such of his opulent neighbours as were kindly disposed towards him, to assist in the raising of a new edifice, towards which he was himself the most liberal of pecuniary contributors. He devoted, for this purpose, a part of the pension which had been settled upon him by the Government.

The new meeting-house, thus raised, is the one which now exists as a monument of the reverend pastor's liberality. "It is an extensive brick building," says Mr Dorning Rasbotham, in his description of it, written in the year 1787; "it hath a bell, a large burying-ground, and a congregation of about 1100 persons."

About the time when this event occurred, John, the younger of the two sons of Mr Nathan Mort, who had been sent to Nottingham to acquire a knowledge of the manufactories of that town, returned, as a young tradesman of

about twenty years of age, to reside at Atherton, with whom Mr Woods cultivated an ardent friendship. Mr John Mort became eventually, by the death of his eldest brother, the representative of the family. He was a gentleman of more than common intelligence, whose strong religious feelings, and whose benevolent exertions in the cause of the poor, very deservedly called forth an elegant poetic tribute to his virtues, from the pen of his accomplished friend, Mrs Barbauld, as well as a more elaborate panegyric in the volume of the Rev. Mr Toulmin. In the society and close fellowship of this excellent man, the Reverend James Woods spent his remaining term of life. After having presided over the Presbyterian congregation of Chowbent more than sixty years, he ended his days, at the advanced age of eighty-seven. His surviving friend, Mr John Mort, who best knew him, drew up to his memory the following epistle, which he had evidently designed for a stone monument.

> This is inscribed, as a testimony of respect and gratitude, to perpetuate the memory of the Rev. JAMES WOODS. Animated with an ardent zeal for the happy Constitution of his Country, by a brave and generous conduct, in the year MDCCXV., he acquired an honourable name among the friends of religious liberty. By an open, cheerful, and upright conversation, proceeding from the goodness of his heart, he attracted the esteem of all who knew him. After serving this society, as a Christian Minister, with affection and fidelity, in the spirit of meekness and piety, above sixty years, he fell asleep February, MDCCLIX.

It does not appear, however, that this tribute, in the form of an epitaph, (found among Mr Mort's papers after his death), was ever recorded in stone or marble ; in the place of which, a kind of monument was simply PAINTED. The situation of this rural Fresco work, which, according to the Rev. Dr Harrison, was executed " in a somewhat superior style," is above the pulpit, from which it reaches to the ceiling, to a length of about nine feet. It is difficult to explain why the Chowbent congregation, at a former period, should have shewn so parsimonious a spirit. They, perhaps, thought that Woods, in the chapel which his exertions had caused to be built, had raised for himself his own monument :

Exegi monumentum ære perennius.

In consoling themselves, therefore, with this prudent reflection, they wisely drew up their purse strings. It is, however, to be hoped, that a tribute of so fading a character, and so easily obliterated, will not for ever be suffered to remain by the present wealthy generation of Atherton, but that it will be exchanged for a more costly monument of durable stone, or marble.

With the actual words of the inscription, any captiousness would be misplaced; it is as follows:—

> THIS IS INSCRIBED AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT, TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF THE REV. JAMES WOOD, WHOSE ACTIVE EXERTIONS FOUNDED THIS PLACE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP. HE DIED FEB. 20. 1759, HAVING SERVED THIS SOCIETY, AS A CHRISTIAN MINISTER, WITH AFFECTION AND FIDELITY, MORE THAN SIXTY YEARS.

The memory of Woods has never been allowed to die in the vicinity of Atherton, to which parties, although they might differ from him in religious or political sentiments, have rendered ample justice. Mr Dorning Rasbotham, for instance, has thus remarked of him: "Woods was not an eloquent preacher; but, though he could not preach, he was wont to say he could tell his hearers a story, and that did as well. He lived so as to be esteemed even by those against whom he had taken arms; and hath his memory even now revered by some of the most inveterate enemies of the cause he espoused."

Woods' latest panegyrist has been the Rev. Mr Toulmin, in his volume addressed to the Chowbent congregation, in which he has taken occasion to advert to their revered pastor:—"It will be an article of intelligence to none of you, my brethren, that, in the year 1715, alarmed at the progress of the Pretender, he headed a body composed of all the hale and courageous men in his congregation, armed with the implements of husbandry, and marched them to Preston, where General Wills commissioned him to secure possession of Walton Bridge; which brave and loyal conduct King George I. was pleased to acknowledge by an honourable memorial of his favour. Nor will you soon forget his active zeal in procuring assistance to erect a large, commodious chapel, when, in consequence of your steadiness to the cause of liberty, at the general election in the year 1722, the Lord of the Manor, warmed with that party-spirit which then burned in almost every bosom, deprived you of the place of worship in which you had been used to assemble; a measure which, in many respects, proved highly advantageous to the interests of your society."

And, in another part of his work, Mr Toulmin has summed up Woods' character after the following manner: "He will be long remembered in this neighbourhood, as a facetious companion, as a faithful servant of the Lord Jesus, and as a firm friend to the liberties of his country."

Such is the account, which, from the information given me, and the works quoted, I have been enabled to draw up of the Rev. James Woods of Chowbent.

Regarding the other Presbyterian worthy, who is said to have aided against the Rebellion of 1715, the Rev. Mr Walker, nothing whatever appears to he known. That he was a partaker with Woods in the glory of Preston Fight, rests upon the evidence, apparently satisfactory, given by Peter Rae, in his very accurate History of the Rebellion of 1715.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL INDEMNITY.

The king having returned from Germany about the middle of January 1717, resolved to open the Session of Parliament with a General Indemnity. But as a rumour then prevailed, that the scheme of a new Rebellion, aided by certain continental powers, was in the course of being formed, the measure was delayed. The danger having been at length averted, the trial of the Earl of Oxford, which afforded a new source of agitation to the country, still further interfered with his Majesty's most merciful intention. The acquittal of this Peer having taken place about the middle of July 1717, the King then found no other obstacle to retard his gracious promise of indemnity, upon the completion of which, all the prisoners then under confinement were set at liberty.

In the history of any national movement, we naturally feel interested in the fate of such as had more or less signalised themselves in it, and are gratified by the perusal of anecdotes relative to their subsequent fortune. In the present instance, such information is not very easily attained, as few or no family archives relative to those who distinguished themselves in the Rebellion, have yet been published. Yet, that many interesting narratives of this kind are in existence, there can be no doubt, as is evident from

the following notice which has been kindly communicated to the author of this work.

(a) NOTICE OF MR JOHN BESWICKE OF MANCHESTER.

In page 86 it was mentioned, that one of the very few High Church Tories who enlisted from the neighbourhood of Manchester, was Charles, one of the sixteen children of the Rev. Charles Beswicke, M.A., rector of Radcliffe, and descended from an ancient family memorable in the ecclesiastical annals of Manchester, for their contributions towards the Collegiate Church. It is stated in the biography of his family, that Charles Beswicke was, in 1715, at Preston Fight. A large reward having been offered for the apprehension of certain of the rebels, he escaped in disguise, under the assumed name of Ralph Davies, and, in 1716, sailed for Leghorn, where his elder brother, John Beswicke, was engaged in mercantile pursuits with his kinsman Mr Humphrey Chetham of Turton, then living at Livornia.

Charles Beswicke is supposed to have outlived his early disloyalty to the Reigning Sovereign, as he became British Consul at Algiers. He was afterwards, as appears by a letter from his brother, cast away in the Levant.

In the year 1745, the old hereditary feeling was revived, and another of the family was implicated in the Rebellion.—[From a M.S. History of the Beswicke Family of Pike House, in the Parish of Rochdale.]

(b)—INCIDENTS WHICH BEFEL BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE GENERAL ACT OF INDEMNITY.

Another individual, of very great importance in the transactions of the Rebellion, whose fate is worth recording, connects himself, perhaps, more with Scottish than with Lancashire History. This is Brigadier Mackintosh, regarding whose subsequent biography very little indeed appears to have been known. On this account, the following notice may not be unacceptable.

It was Mackintosh, as we have shewn, who planned the defence of Preston when besieged by General Wills. The Insurgent forces, but more particularly the Highlanders, were never at any one period subdued by force of arms; but, on the contrary, were enabled to resist the Government troops, and to maintain their ground, with the reasonable prospect before them of a triumphant result. They were subdued, not by force of arms, but by the unauthorised and tame capitulation of a few of their irresolute leaders.

In a former part of this History (p. 215), Mackintosh is commemorated as having gallantly effected his escape from Newgate, and escaped to the Continent. Having been, therefore, by a special act of Parliament, outlawed, he thus became excluded, in case of his return to Britain, from participating in the freedom promised by the General Act of Indemnity.

The Brigadier's great attachment, however, to his FATHERLAND seems, at some period or other (the particular date of which does not transpire), to have induced him to revisit Scotland. Perhaps this experiment might have been made on the demise of George the First, and in reliance on the tender mercies of the successor to the throne, who, however, was quite incapable of any generous sentiments whatever. The Brigadier accordingly experienced, to his deep cost, the unforgiving disposition of George the Second, as he was only allowed to exchange a capital sentence for imprisonment during his old age within the walls of Edinburgh Castle. It does not appear, however, that he became so strictly guarded as to be debarred from intercourse with the polished and intelligent society of Edinburgh, within which circle his manners were those of gentleness and urbanity. He seems to have found no difficulty in discarding the character acquired in camps, of the austere disciplinarian, of stern, and even repulsive manners, as he must have well known, from long experience, the sort of artificial deportment which was demanded, in order to ensure obedience among raw English recruits, or uncultivated Highland clans.

In fact, Mackintosh was a gentleman who had much improved

his intellectual talents by long study. Consequently, his confinement within the Castle would become less intolerable, so long as he could say, with the old song,

"My mind to me a kingdom is!"

From a Newspaper account, transmitted to me by Mr David Laing, it would appear that Mackintosh lived and died, in every sense of the word, A PATRIOT, as anxious to secure, by the success of Scottish arms, the glory and independence of his country, which he conceived to have been only attainable by the restoration of Her ancient line of monarchy, as to advance Her wealth and interests during a long interval of domestic tranquillity, in the improvement of Her soils, and in the extension of Her natural resources.

This is shewn in the following brief notice of the Brigadier's death, which appeared in the "Caledonian Mercury" of January 10. 1743:—

"On Friday, 6th inst., died, in the Castle of Edinburgh, William Mackintosh of Borlum, Esq., aged about 85. His extraordinary natural endowments, improved by a polite education, rendered him in all respects a complete gentleman, friendly, agreeable, and courteous. He wrote several pieces during his confinement, of which, that published anno 1729, for Inclosing, Fallowing, and Planting Scotland, secured to him the lasting character of a lover of his country. He was a Captain in King James Seventh's army before the Revolution, at which period he went abroad and followed the fate of his master for several years."

How unfortunate it is that no biography has yet appeared of this remarkable man, who, in every sense of the word, is entitled to be regarded as ONE OF THE WORTHIES OF SCOTLAND.

PART VII.

THE STATE OF PARTIES IN

LANCASHIRE

SUBSEQUENT TO THE REBELLION OF 1715.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. The position of the High Church Tories during the course of the Rebellion.

II. State of the High Church Tory party, as altered by the result of the Rebellion.

III. The Presbyterian party subsequent to the Rebellion.

IV. State of the Roman Catholic party after the Rebellion.

V. The state of Scottish Jacobitism after the Rebellion.

VI. The effect produced in England, but more particularly in Lancashire, by the Rebellion of 1715.

PART VII.

THE STATE OF PARTIES IN LANCASHIRE, SUBSEQUENT TO THE REBELLION OF 1715.

The narrative having been at length completed, it would now be highly interesting to ascertain the extent of influence, caused by the insurrection, upon the relative position of the different parties who shared in the movement.

This inquiry will demand, as a preliminary step, a correct estimate of the false, and most unfortunate position assumed by the High Church Tories during the course of the Rebellion, to which, however, some brief allusions have already been made.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE POSITION OF THE HIGH CHURCH TORY PARTY DURING THE COURSE OF THE REBELLION.

If the state of the High Church Tory party was greatly enfeebled by the result of 1715, it is the precise effect which was to be anticipated from the embarrassing position which High Church held during the entire course of the Rebellion ;—a position regarding which we are now enabled to attain the most precise ideas ; and as such, demanding our previous attention to the character which it assumed.

It has been abundantly shewn, in the course of the present History, that the High Church Tory party did nothing more than invite the Scottish Jacobites and Roman Catholics to fight for the restoration of the House of Stuart;—but, as for sharing with these allies the risks and perils of the battle-field, they kept greatly aloof.

And has any explanation been offered for this most extraordinary inertness?

No reason whatever has been assigned for it, unless the very outré one of Patten be admitted, which, in the attempt to identify this inertness with the depression resulting from a sort of wine-created valour, becomes too ridiculous to be for a single moment entertained. Most unquestionably, the High Church party, which was thus freely censured, became notorious, not only in 1715, but even so late as the year 1745, for tavern meetings held for the joint purpose of conviviality and Jacobite conspiracy, which, when the hour of trial came, proved to have been little more "than sound and fury, signifying nothing."

Dismissing, therefore, the absurd notion of vinous depression as an enervating cause, which was nearly, if not quite, as liable to happen to any other party as to the High Church Tories, let us inquire if there was not, after all, a political and religious motive silently, and almost unconsciously intruding itself during the more cool and unexcitable moments of reflection, from which it was to be expelled by no effort of boisterous Jacobite loyalty, and maintaining a continued lurking-place in the recesses of the mind, only to be developed in the hour of trial, by its power of paralyzing every attempt at active co-operation with such revolting allies, as "Papists" and Scottish Presbyterians.

The cause, then, which may more rationally explain the paralyzation of High Church Tory exertions, was no other than the false position in which the party found itself placed, from having selected a Roman Catholic Prince, James the Third, to be the defender of a church in the Protestant communion. "To pretend a zeal for the Church," remonstrated the Archbishop of Canterbury—"that is, to join with Papists, to set up a Popish Pretender

to support the Church of England—is such an imposition upon the common sense of mankind, that nothing, even in Popery itself, can be more absurd."

In the course of the preceding narrative, frequent allusion has been made to the important manifesto of Dr Tennyson, in which the foregoing remark appears. As there is no document which better illustrates the exact position of the High Church party, not only during the Rebellion of 1715, but even in 1745, and as this production is to be considered as a very scarce one, its republication becomes a desideratum.

Accordingly, if the author venture, on the present occasion, to give the document in its entire state, he must peremptorily disclaim any party motive or bias whatever, particularly of a religious character, as well as any responsibility for the whole of the sentiments which it contains. It is submitted with no other view than affording the most satisfactory means of arriving at a correct estimate of the position of the High Church party, during the whole of the rebellious manifestations in which a large county was involved, from the period of the "Lancashire plots," as they were named, which immediately supervened to the Revolution of 1688, down to the date when a Manchester regiment was formed to aid the young Chevalier. A mere glance, for instance, at the numerous controversial writings which have appeared in Lancashire during this long period, and only ending with the result of 1745, will at once exhibit the important assistance which this document is calculated to impart to their being correctly understood.

A DECLARATION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND THE BISHOPS IN AND NEAR LONDON, TESTIFIEING THEIR ABHORRENCE OF THE PRESENT REBELLION; WITH AN EXHORTATION TO THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE UNDER THEIR CARE, TO BE ZEALOUS IN THE DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTIES TO HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE.

Whereas an Unnatural Rebellion has been Raised against Our Lawful and Rightful Sovereign King George, in several Parts of the Kingdom, and is still Threatned in more; We thought it Incumbent upon Us, out of Our Duty to

God, to Our King, to Our Country, and to Our Holy Religion, in this Publick Manner to Declare Our Abhorrence of it, and to Warn both the Clergy and People under Our Charge, of the great Obligations they ly under, upon all these Accounts, to shew a Hearty and an Open Zeal for the Government, in this Conjuncture.

The Providence of God has indeed so Wonderfully appeared hitherto, both in timely Discovering the Treason, and in Disappointing Our Enemies of several Advantages they expected, that We have great Reason to trust in Him, that the Event will be to the Confusion of the Wicked Actors in this Rebellion; But however in a Matter of this High Nature, wherein Our Duty and Our Dearest Interests are so deeply Concerned, no Endeavours ought to be thought Superfluous, nor Zeal Unnecessary.

We are the more Concerned, that both the Clergy and People of Our Communion should shew themselves Hearty Friends to the Government upon this Occasion, to Vindicate the Honour of the Church of England, because the Chief Hopes of Our Enemies seem to arise from Discontents artificially raised among Us: and because some, who have Valued themselves, and have been too much Valued by others, for a pretended Zeal for the Church, have Joined with Papists in these Wicked Attempts; which, as they must ruin the Church, if they Succeed, so they cannot well end without great Reproach to it, if the rest of Us do not Clearly and Heartily Declare Our Detestation of such Practices.

We are not surprized, that Papists should rise up against a Government which they wou'd never yet own, and endeavour to set a Person upon the Throne, who will establish their Religion, and Ruin Ours: (tho' Rebellion is but an ill Return for the Quiet they have enjoy'd). But that Profess'd Members of the Church of England should Joyn with them in this, and out of Private Discontents, Attempt to set up a Person whom they have so often and so lately Abjured, is so vile and detestable a thing, as may justly make them Odious both to God and Man; But at the same time to pretend a Zeal for the Church, that is, to join with Papists to Set up a Popish Pretender, to Support the Church of England, is such an Imposition upon the Common Sense of Mankind, that nothing, even in Popery itself, can be more absurd, and nothing but an Infatuation from God, justly inflicted for Our Sins, can suffer to pass upon the Nation.

How much blood this may cost, or what Ruin it may bring on Our Country, God only knows; But we think proper to observe to you, that the more clearly and Openly We declare Our Selves for the Government, the less it will probably be: And that all those must have a Share in the Guilt of the Innocent Blood that shall be spilt, not only who actually Joyn in the Rebellion, but who do any way promote it, or even by their Silence at this Juncture, shall give Hopes to the Pretender and his Friends, and Just Cause of Jealousie and Suspicion to the Government.

And is this a time to stand Neuters, when All lyes at Stake? Or is Popery become so Innocent of late, That it is indifferent whether a Popish or a Protestant Prince be on the Throne? This We speak to those who have owned the King's Title, and have Sworn to Maintain it, and are ready to do it again, as Occasion offers; who, We have reason to believe, are so many, that if They are true to their Oaths, the Government (humanly speaking) cannot be in any Danger. And is it not fit for all such persons to consider seriously what those oaths are, with which they have bound their Souls? They have not only Abjured the Pretender, and his Title; but have Sworn to Defend King George to the utmost of their Power, against all Traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown, or Dignity; and to the utmost of their Power to Maintain and Defend the Succession of the Crown against the said Pretender, and all other Persons whatsoever.

These Words do not only Import, That We will not Rebel against the King; But that We will be active for Him according to Our several Stations, especially in Times of Danger, when Rebellions are raised against Him: They who are called to be Soldiers, by Fighting Couragiously for Him; They who are Magistrates, by Using their Authority for His Support; They who are Ministers, by their Prayers, by their Preaching, and by their Admonishing those under their Care, of their Duty to Him; and all of Us, by a Cheerful Ready Declaration of Our Resolution to Stand by Him.

Such a Conduct would Discourage the Rebels, and Animate the Government, put an End to Our Troubles, and Support His Majesty in the Just Possession of the Crown, which was Settled upon His Family with very Mature Consideration, and for Just and Weighty Reasons, as being the next Family of the Royal Blood that were Protestants; from whom only we could expect Protection in Our Religious and Civil Liberties, which are the Birthright of the People of England, and which no Man has a Right to Invade. This Settlement was Established by the whole Legislature, and Confirm'd by many Acts of Parliament, made in Two different Reigns, and under the Prevalency of each of the Unhappy Divisions of Parties among Us, several of them, in the last Years of Our late Gracious Queen, and has been, from Time to Time, Sworn to by almost all, of all Orders and Degrees of Men among Us.

As this Settlement was made for the Security and Benefit of these Kingdoms, so have We all the Reason in the World to think Ourselves Happy in that Person, who, by all this Authority, at present Reigns over Us. Even His Enemies are forced to Confess, That He is a very Good and Gracious Prince: He Lives in Constant Communion of the Church of England, and has given Us both His Oath, and His repeated Royal Word to Protect it; and He has not, by any Thing He has done, given Us the least Reason to Suspect but that it will Flourish, at least as much under His Government, as under that of the Best of His Royal Predecessors.

But if the Pretender should Prevail, what can the Church of England expect but Ruin and Destruction? A Popish Prince npon the Throne, Bigotted to his Religion, and Heated with what will then be called Ill Usage, together with a long Train of Papists in the Succession, can bode nothing but Fatal and Irrecoverable Ruin to it. May not We in this Matter Appeal to the Experience of all Countries, whether a Succession of Popish Princes have not Ruined the Protestant Religion wherever it has been Planted? They are obliged by the Laws of their Church, to Extirpate out of their Dominions what they call Heresy, which their Canonists treat as a Crime more Heinous than either Murder or Rebellion. And these Laws They never fail to put in Execution when they have full Power to do it; as We may be satisfied from what was done in Flanders, where, according to the Account of Writers of that Communion, above Fifty Thousand were put to the most miserable Deaths.

To pass over the Massacres and Horrible Persecutions in France, Savoy, and other Foreign Countries, Let Us call to mind how much this Church and Nation suffered in the Bloody, tho' Short Reign of Queen Mary, contrary to Solemn Promises; when not only many were put to Death, as Hereticks Convict, but the Torture was Ordered for all whom They Suspected, and who wou'd not confess, according to the Barbarity of the Inquisition; which Horrid Court, or something very like it, wou'd Probably have been Set up in this Kingdom, had that Popish Reign lasted but a little longer: And We have Reason to fear it wou'd Effectually be Established here, if ever God, for Our Sins, shou'd suffer another Popish Prince to be Settled on this Throne.

The Progress that was made toward the Bringing this Yoke of Bondage upon Us, and the Miseries with which we were Threatned under the late Unhappy King James, are too fresh in Our Thoughts to be forgotten: And what befell that Unfortunate Prince, will certainly be Remembred and Resented by him who claims an Indefeasible Right to his Kingdoms.

But besides this, How must the Pretender look upon the Clergy of the Church of England, after all that They have been doing for near Thirty Years together? They were the Clergy that in the Time of King James did justly alarm the Nation with the Dangers of Popery, from whence followed all that was done at the Revolution. And the Clergy have every Year since that, upon the Fifth of November, given God Thanks for what was then done, for making all Opposition fall before Him (the Prince of Orange) till he became our King. They have not only taken all the Oaths Established by Law, but have used the Daily Prayers and those of the several Fasts and Thanksgivings, for the Prosperity of the Government. They have frequently, from time to time, in their Addresses from the Convocation, and from their Respective Dioceses, promised to Stand by the Protestant Succession. How must the Pretender look upon Persons, that have done all this? That have Prayed

against Him, that have Addressed against Him, that have Sworn against Him, and Abjured Him for so many Years together?

What a Reproach will this Matter then be to the Church of England? Such of Us as stand true to Our Oaths will then be called Rebels and Traitors; and such as do not (if any shall be so wicked) will be called Atheists and Infidels for taking Abominable Oaths against their Consciences. What Scandal will this give to Our People? And how will they be apt to turn Papists in great Numbers, when We, that should direct and stand by them, shall fall under such Reproaches? But We hope better, tho' We thus Speak; and that God will not suffer these sore Judgments to come upon Us, and Our Country.

We do therefore, in the Name of God, call upon all those who are under Our Care, in the first place to humble themselves before God, for the great and crying Sins of the Nation; for that Spirit of Infidelity and Libertinism; of Unthankfulness for the Mercies of the Gospel; of Formality and Hypocrisie; of Strife and Envy, of Hatred and Animosity, which are so rife among Us: And which are generally the Forerunners of the Destruction of any People. Let Us all cry mightily to God, to avert those Judgments, which We have so justly deserved; that He would Save His People, so often and so wonderfully preserved by Him, and not give His Heritage to Reproach; that he would not suffer this Church to be Overrun with Superstition and Idolatry, or leave Us to the Mercies of them whose Mercies are cruel. Let Us particularly Pray for the Preservation of the Person and Government of Our most Gracious Sovereign King George, that God would Cover His Enemies with Shame; but that upon Himself and His Posterity the Crown may ever Flourish. We do also Charge both Clergy and People, as they will be Answerable for the Destruction that may otherwise come, both upon the Church and Nation, that They endeavour to Strengthen the Hands of the Government in this Dangerous Conjuncture: The Clergy by plainly Admonishing their Flocks of their Duty, both to their King and Country; and the People by a Cheerful Declaration of their Readiness to Stand by the Government. And let all of Us, forgetting all Differences, and Animosities, make this the great Contention, who shall act with the truest Zeal against the Common Enemy.

And God grant, that We may All, in this Our Day, see the Things that belong to Our Peace, before they are hid from Our Eyes.

Novemb. 3. 1715.

Tho. Cantuar'; Joh. London; Jonathan Winchester; Joh. Lichfield and Cov.; Ric. Peterborough; W. Sarum; Jo. Bangor; W. Lincoln; C. Norwich; W. Ely; Tho. Chichester; Rich. Glocester; John Asaph Jo. Oxon.

After a careful perusal of this important document, let us next suppose, and with great probability, that the High Church Tories felt, to no little extent, the humiliating character of their inconsistent position in the rebellious movement going on; although —as is often the case in examples of self-delusion, arising from attempts to maintain a false position,—they might have been perfectly disqualified at the time from explaining the true cause of the depression with which they were visited at the hour of trial; —a depression which their enemies were disposed to attribute to any thing but its true cause. If this idea, then, be allowable, we may now inquire to what extent the supposition is to be countenanced by other facts.

It was remarked [Introd. p. 56.] that, with the Revolution of 1688, Toryism had received such a wound, that it never could have recovered the vigour requisite for an armed rebellion, such as that of 1715, if it had not been for the accession of strength which it derived from being conjoined with other motives, religious as well as political. Another observation was, that while Toryism was a term expressive of a Party principle entertained, the term Jacobitism indicated the point towards which it was directed, namely, the restoration of the House of Stuart.

If this latter distinction, then, be carefully kept in view, it will be evident, that, with a Scotsman anxious for the restoration of the ancient monarchy of his country, and with a Roman Catholic attached by a sort of hereditary loyalty to the House of Stuart, the feeling of Jacobitism must have existed in a more unalloyed and energetic form, than it ever could have been expected to prevail in the soul of a High Church Tory, who would cling to the cause of Jacobitism, merely as the means to an end;—the ultimate end, or sole object, sought for, being of an ecclesiastical character, and appertaining exclusively to the advancement of the principles cherished by that powerful section of the established church to which he belonged.

In fact, the leading object of the High Church Tories was to vindicate the antiquity and the power of their Church, and to

prove that this power was independent of the State, and was even superior to Magna Charta itself, and to the laws of the land. Another object was to preserve the orthodox tenets taught by High Church in a perfect state of integrity ;—to resist every inroad attempted to be made upon them ;—and to allow no acts of parliament to break down the barriers of their Church, either in the form of a bill of comprehension, intended to admit Dissenters within the pale of their communion, or in the form of a Toleration Act, by which the privilege of occasional conformity had been conceded to Protestant Dissenters, who, in consequence, enjoyed such civil honours or privileges, as, in the view of this party, appertained to such only as professed the religion of the State.

Now, as the High Church Tories, in endeavouring to promote these ecclesiastical objects, had been uniformly opposed by the successive Whig Ministers of William and Mary, Queen Anne, and George the First, they very early resorted to a system of expedients, apparently most inconsistent with their actual position in the Church of England, to carry their ideas into effect :

The first, was to invite a Roman Catholic descendant of the very monarch whom, for the hostility which he had evinced towards the Protestant religion, they had originally been the means of excluding from the throne, to become the Special Protector of a Protestant Church of England !

The second, was to coalesce with the Roman Catholics, whose encroachments they had opposed during the reign of the Stuarts, to bring about the same object ;—while

The third, was to even join with the Scottish Presbyterians, to whose anti-episcopal form of Church government the High Church Tories had ever been opposed, to assist in the restoration of a Roman Catholic protector of the Episcopacy of the English Church.

Such was the strange, and most incompatible system of expedients to which High Church resorted, in open dereliction of the Protestant and Episcopal principles with which they ought to have been exclusively actuated. And thus we arrive at the true cause of the feeble support, which, when the Rebellion actually broke out, the High Church Tories gave to the Jacobite cause. It

arose from the humiliating reflection, which must have often intruded itself, that their party was IN A FALSE POSITION. For, when they found that their ecclesiastical views could not be accomplished without invoking to their aid not only Roman Catholic and Presbyterian allies, but even a Roman Catholic Head of their Protestant Church, they shrank from any hearty co-operation with such revolting fellow-labourers; whence their attempts in the Jacobite cause became, at the eventful hour of trial, proportionally languid, or even paralyzed.

This was shewn in the event of PRESTON FIGHT, where the number of High Church Tories who actually appeared was so insignificant, as to be perfectly contemptible. The gallant resistance which the Insurgents made against the force of General Wills, was due to the Scottish and Roman Catholic Parties.

The mortification which those who had shrunk from their promises were doomed to endure, arising from a consciousness of the grievous disappointment which they had created among the more consistent classes of their Jacobite partisans, continued to haunt them for many years.

The excuse pleaded by the Lancashire Tories was, that, owing to very great mismanagement, the movement had not attained its full development; and, under this impression, aided also, no doubt, by a feeling of self-reproach that their exertions had not been more energetic and effective, the perpetuation and extension of High Church Principles became industriously promoted during a period of thirty years, at the expiration of which time broke out the Rebellion of 1745.

Hence, when the eventful Forty-five did actually occur, Manchester, which still continued the stronghold of the High Church party, again invited the Highland army, then headed by Charles Edward, to once more make Lancashire their rallying point;—an invitation with which the young and interesting Adventurer at once complied, by marching with an army of 5600 men through the very heart of this county.

Upon this latter occasion, the High Church Tories of Lancashire endeavoured to redeem their character. They became

anxious to carry out the principles of Jacobitism to the fullest extent of which they were susceptible.

If these exertions, made at a later period, were ineffectual, yet, at the same time, far more creditable to the reputation of the High Church Tories, the result was in no little degree due to the dignified conduct maintained by some of the great promoters of the movement, among whom Dr Byrom of Manchester was particularly conspicuous. The literary talents and sportive wit of this highly gifted man, were aided with a singular good temper and urbanity, which the most violent tempest of controversy failed to ruffle, or discompose.

But the movement of 1745 owed perhaps still more to the exhortations of a very fervent theologian, who has been already introduced to us from having assisted Paul and Hall in their dying moments, and written for them the eloquent declaration which they gave in to the Sheriff;—a declaration which, throughout the kingdom, produced the most intense excitement.

In fact, England never boasted a greater enthusiast in the Jacobite and Non-Juring cause than Dr Deacon, who, in settling as a physician at Manchester, had also become the bishop of a Non-Juring church which he founded in that locality.

Notwithstanding, however, the extraordinary appeals made by the more influential Jacobites of Lancashire, the movement was far from being general in the county; —it was confined to the limited district in and around Manchester. Nor did the regiment raised for Prince Charles ever exceed two or three hundred men.

In this later Rebellion Dr Deacon had three sons, one of whom bled for the Jacobite cause on the public scaffold. The head of the insurgent, along with that of another comrade in arms, was placed on the top of the public Exchange of Manchester. The father was among the first who came to gaze upon the ensanguined relic; he fixed his eyes upon it stedfastly, and, with all the patriotic devotion of an ancient Roman, suppressed every parental feeling of depression, glorying that he had a son who died the death of a martyr. He then took off his hat to both the heads before him, in reverence to the cause for which the sufferers had bled.—[Hibbert's College, &c., of Manchester, vol. ii., p. 119.]

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY SUBSEQUENT TO THE REBELLION OF 1715.

An explanation having already appeared, in the course of this History, of the causes of the decline of High Church Toryism, it will aid our proposed inquiry into the actual state of this party at the close of the Rebellion, if a brief summary be given of the leading facts which have been disclosed during the progress of the Rebellion.

A first cause of the decline of the High Church party has been just explained. During the whole of the Rebellion of 1715, there was a want of energy at the hour of trial which seemed perfectly inexplicable, except on the supposition of this party being not so hearty in the cause of Jacobitism as they would have fain persuaded themselves they were. This self-delusion has been accounted for on the principle, that, with the High Church Tories, Jacobitism was not an ultimate object; that it was merely the means to an end;—which end, or object, was the accomplishment of certain ecclesiastical views to which this party was pledged. Hence, any aid which the High Church Tories might lend towards the cause of Jacobitism would labour under the disadvantage of being a secondary consideration only; and, as long as it demanded a coalition with Roman Catholics and Scottish Presbyterians, could not be energetic.

Such was the explanation proposed for the want of energy displayed by the High Church Tories, when called upon to take their part in the battle-field, which, if correct, ought to be exemplified, to some extent, in the events of 1745;—for, it must be reflected, that the false position of the High Church Tories, in this later contest, was by no means altered from what it was, even thirty

years previously, namely, in the experience of 1715. Now, it is not a little remarkable, that in 1745 the identical charge was repeated, namely, that during the convivial ebullitions of Jacobite zeal to which the High Church Tories were addicted, they had promised to CHARLES EDWARD an abundant supply of recruits, which, at the hour of trial, existed only in the imaginary realms of Dreamland. A Presbyterian writer [the Rev. Mr Owen of Rochdale] remarks of this latter period, "that the young Chevalier complained bitterly, during the course of his English expedition, of some political rats that had long drank and sworn in his service, and that had fought many campaigns for him over the bottle; but that when he invited them to join his standard, and make the campaign of danger, they all fled and forsook him."

With deference, however, to the Rev. Robert Patten, a clergyman of the Church of England in 1715, and to the Rev. Mr Owen, a Presbyterian divine of 1745, both of them equally intent upon vilifying the High Church Tories, it is quite possible, as I have before observed, that this inertness shewn at the hour of peril, might have admitted an explanation much more readily to be comprehended in its political effects, than in conceiving it to have been identified with the depression supervening to an excess of vinous excitement. For it would be rather too much for the gravity of history, to represent the High Church Tory pointing to his empty bottle, and exclaiming with Captain Macheath, when summoned to his fate,

"See my courage is out!"

As there is no occasion, therefore, to say anything more in exposure of so absurd an idea, we may now proceed to notice the second cause of the decline of the High Church Tory party.

A second cause, as we have before explained [Page 207] was the surveillance which was kept over the Church of England, with the view of excluding from ecclesiastical offices all such as were in the High Church Tory interest.

A third cause of the decline of this party, was the breaking up of the coalition, which had its earliest date in the Revolution of

1688, between the High Church Tories and the Roman Catholics, owing to the disappointment of the latter in not having been supported during the hour of trial at Preston. As the aid which the High Church Tories had received from this source, formed their chief strength in their opposition to Low Church and Whig assailants, this loss was felt deeply, particularly in the movement of 1745, which was distinguished from that of 1715, by the absence, rather than by the presence, of Roman Catholic allies.

Having, then, explained the causes which were contributing to enfeeble the party-spirit of High Church, not only during the campaign of 1715, but even long afterwards, nothing more remains to be accomplished on this subject of inquiry, except to attempt a brief sketch of its actual state, as it appeared in Lancashire, subsequently to this important political event.

With this object in view, let us, in the first place, recollect, that the High Church Tories were distinguished as claiming for James the Third, a divine right to govern, and from the subject an absolute obedience. They maintained, in opposition to the principles of the Revolution in 1688, that " Kings derived their power, not from the people, but from God, to whom only they were accountable ; and that it did not belong to subjects to censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who came to be so by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, nor forfeiture, could alter or diminish." In fact, the Jacobites now thought it prudent to rest their case less upon the foregoing party doctrine, which was naturally supposed to advocate an arbitrary and unconstitutional government, than upon the hereditary and indefeasible right of James the Third to the throne of his ancestors. It must not, however, be supposed, that the old Tory doctrine was formally renounced by its wonted advocates. It was rather kept in the shade, as a tenet too much in opposition to the civil and religious liberty secured in 1688, the acquisition of which the Whigs had ever turned to a very popular account, in associating with the Hanoverian cause a denunciation of the slavery inculcated by the Tory doctrine of an irresponsible divine

right of the Sovereign, and of the passive obedience and non-resistance of the subject.

In the second place, the High Church Tories indulged in transcendental notions regarding the antiquity, universality, and authority of their Church; claiming also for the bishops and clergy an uninterrupted apostolic succession. These notions having been discouraged by the more moderate and prevailing party of the Church of England, were subsequently taken up in all their force by the Non-jurors, who even attempted the formation of an independent national church, based upon these principles.

"THE TRUE BRITISH CATHOLIC CHURCH" OF DR DEACON.

This truly remarkable man, who was introduced to us from the part which he acted on the occasion of Hall and Paul having been brought to the scaffold [see page 229], had reflected deeply upon the great cause of the failure of the movement of 1715. He had been fully aware how deeply the Jacobite cause had been weakened by the false and inconsistent position in which High Church had been placed; and he sought to get rid of the difficulty, by the bold attempt to dissolve Her connection with a communion, which, ever since the Revolution of 1688, he had deemed to be in a schismatic state. Accordingly, he proposed to himself the question, whether it was not possible to revive in England a sort of "Universal Church," anterior to that of Rome Herself, yet professing to be in perfect reconciliation with the Roman Catholic communion?—in which case, James the Third, as a Roman Catholic Prince, would be invested with a power over the Church of England to protect Her sacred interests,—the said Church of England being nothing more than a portion of the Universal Church, which included within Her wide communion the Church even which bowed to the supremacy of the Pope.

The result of Dr Deacon's learned inquiry was, that the modelling of a church upon Non-juring principles, according to the creed, forms, and usages of so early a period as that of the 4th century, would answer all the ends proposed. It would allow a reconciliation with the Roman Catholic communion, which would obviate the greatest objection which had been hitherto raised against Jacobitism, from the necessity of seeking for a Protector of the Church of England in a Roman Catholic prince.

This was the great design of Dr Deacon's "True British Catholic church" which he formed in Manchester, and of which he became the bishop.

But this enterprising theologian was not quite content, that a practical illustration of his views should be confined to the model church under

his own guardianship; he endeavoured also, that the usages of the 4th century should be engrafted into the regular forms and ceremonies of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, which he was enabled in some little degree to effect, through the active co-operation of an enthusiastic disciple, the Rev. Mr Clayton, then a chaplain of that College.

Such were the objects of Dr Deacon, for the accomplishment of which he had recourse, in the year 1745, to two most remarkable expedients.

The first, was to assist James the Third in regaining the throne of his ancestors, by which this Prince would become the head of the English Church, in Her purified, and not in Her schismatic state. In this case, according to the view of the projector, there would be no inconsistency, and no peril whatever, in a Roman Catholic monarch being the ostensible protector of a Church, modelled according to the usages of the fourth century, and professing to be in reconciliation with the Church of Rome Herself.

A second measure, was to invite the Pontiff himself, through one of his cardinals, to confirm the proposal of a reconciliation with "The true British Catholic church," constructed agreeably to the usages of the fourth century. His Holiness, however, to whom the proposition had been brought rather too late, namely, after the battle of Culloden, while taking occasion to express His paternal sympathy with the Manchester Jacobites for the failure of Prince Charles's expedition, still conceived that the learned Physician's model church was not, after all, sufficiently orthodox, to entitle the same to be received within the Roman Communion.

The Doctor eventually published a most erudite work, comprehending the whole of his ecclesiastical views, which, from the deep knowledge of early Church history which it displays, cannot be perused without the greatest instruction. Its title was as follows:—"A full, true, and comprehensive View of Christianity, containing a short Historical Account of Religion from the Creation of the World to the Fourth Century after our Lord Jesus Christ; as also the complete duty of a Christian, in relation to faith, practice, worship, and rituals, set forth sincerely, without regard to any Modern Church, Sect, or Party, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures, was declared by the Apostles, and received by the Universal Church of Christ during the first four centuries. The whole succinctly and fully laid down in Two Catechisms, &c. &c." This volume, in justice to the Doctor's memory, ought to be reprinted, but certainly NOT by the Chetham Society. It would be there seen, that Dr Deacon had anticipated every argument capable of being brought forward at a later period on the subject of a revival of church usages, antecedent to those of Roman Catholicism, and not hostile to a communion with the Church of Rome Herself.—[For an enlarged account of the views of Dr Deacon, see Dr Hibbert's History of the College, &c., of Manchester, vol. ii., pp. 87-96, and 133-144.]

In the third place, the High Church Tories were distinguished for their opposition to the Protestant Dissenters, who had early attempted, by a bill of comprehension, to enter within the communion of the Establishment. But, as this disappointed party had been convinced of the hopelessness of the attempt, and had long desisted from urging it, such a distinction of High Church ceased to exist.

The fourth, and last distinction of the High Church Tories rested on their opposition to the occasional conformity of the Protestant Dissenters, who thence had sought to possess and enjoy a share of the civil offices of State. But, as George the First had been pledged to support the Act of Toleration, the party feeling ceased to be demonstrated by acts of violence, as in the days of Sacheverell, yet at the same time was so far from being suppressed or exhausted, that, until recently, it has never failed to be developed in every town of the kingdom, whenever vacancies in municipal offices have become objects of competition among Church and Dissenting interests. But in reference to the late existing state of the laws, such struggles were unavoidable, and even defensible.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE REBELLION OF 1715.

The Presbyterians of Lancashire were elated beyond measure with the result of the contest of 1715. As they continued in high favour with the Whig administrations of George the First and George the Second, they had nothing more to fear from Sacheverell crusades and excitements, while they had a full exercise for their own—far too intolerant—spirit, in the uncompromising hostility which they expressed towards High Church Tories, Non-

jurors, and Roman Catholics. Of this spirit which prevailed, abundant evidence has been left in the controversial writings of the Rev. Mr Owen, who, in 1745, was the organ of the Presbyterian party of Lancashire.*

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PARTY UPON THE CLOSE OF THE REBELLION OF 1715.

Many of the old Roman Catholic families of Lancashire, who had embarked in the cause of James the Third, suffered considerably in the sequestrations which took place of their estates; but whether these examples had any effect in subduing the rebellious spirit of this party, may be very fairly questioned. The Legislature had also passed an act for registering the estates of such of the Roman Catholics, Non-jurors and others, as should persist in refusing to take the oaths to Government, by which the lands of the disaffected were placed in great jeopardy. But while it would be absurd to deny, that an act which held out, in terrorem, the forfeiture of paternal estates, should not have some degree of influence over wealthy landed proprietors, it is more than probable, that a still greater tranquillizing effect was produced by the generous determination of the Government, to resort to a more forbearing treatment towards a sect which had so long suffered for conscience sake. The civil penalties and disabilities, which, previously to the year 1715, had rendered the Roman Catholics

* At a later period of the last century, much more liberal sentiments began to prevail among the English Presbyterians. There is an excellent volume of moral and practical sermons by Dr Hood, a Presbyterian divine of Newcastle, in which the preacher successfully remonstrates with his congregation upon their spirit of bigotry, and even of persecution, manifested towards the Roman Catholics. But, while writing this history, I am at too great a distance from my library to be enabled to refer to the date of Dr Hood's work, which, I think, was not far from 1780.

so impatient of their degraded condition in the State, ceased from this time to be inflicted. The Legislature became anxious to try the effect of lenient measures ; and, in the peaceful results which followed, the wisdom and policy of the experiment became fully justified. In short, a more healthy state of religious feeling towards this party began to prevail, the earliest fruit of which was shewn in the subsided interest with which the Roman Catholics, in 1745, beheld the march of a new Jacobite army, in their progress through Lancashire.

But it may, perhaps, be contended, and with reason, that Protestant forbearance was not the sole cause which made the Roman Catholics of Lancashire regard, with suppressed emotions, the newer movement of 1745. The fact is, that they had not forgotten the treatment which they had experienced in 1715 from the High Church Tories, who had deserted them as the hour of trial drew near. When this party, therefore, after a lapse of thirty years, again invited the Roman Catholics to join the small force which they had raised for Prince Charles in Manchester, only one gentleman of family, Colonel Townley, who possessed little or no landed property in the county, responded to the invitation ;—nor was there to be found any other individual of the same religion enrolled as an officer in the Manchester regiment, with the exception of Captain Blood, the steward of a gentleman in Yorkshire.

CHAPTER V.

THE EFFECT PRODUCED IN SCOTLAND BY THE DEFEAT OF JACOBITISM IN 1715.

In closing this account of the campaign of 1715, it would be out of place, in a work exclusively dedicated to illustrate English parties, and more particularly the state of Lancashire during this insurrection, to advert to the various causes to which a failure of the Scottish movement was attributable. It is evident, that the

withdrawing of so large a body of the Earl of Mar's forces to England, caused by the invitation of the Lancashire High Church Tories, prevented the battle of Sheriffmuir from being so decisive as it otherwise would have been, while the surrender of the Highland forces at Preston so dispirited the army, that they never again recovered from the depression.

After the disastrous affair of Preston, it was very early, and very naturally asked, Why had a brave and determined force of Scottish Jacobites, instead of fighting amidst the fastnesses of their own native mountains, for the cause of their ancient monarchy and parliaments, where they had a far greater chance of success, been induced to try the fortune of war on English soil?

Most assuredly, if the Scottish insurgents, who were, for the most part, rigid Presbyterians, had received such an invitation from the English Roman Catholics, their religious prejudices would at once have given to it a decided negative. But, as the invitation had emanated from a Protestant source, namely, from the High Church Tories, it was for this reason only that it prevailed. And thus the High Church Tories alone, as Dr Tennyson had forewarned them, became, by the sense of the country, responsible for all the bloodshed which had thereby ensued.

But, even granting that the victory claimed at Sheriffmuir had been complete, would this result have rendered the Jacobite cause triumphant?

It is to be feared that an answer must be given in the negative. The attachment of the Scots towards their ancient line of Monarchy, so long vested in the Royal House of Stuart, was unbounded; and from this feeling, no Scotsman, whatever his political or sectarian creed might have been, was exempt. If, therefore, James the Eighth of Scotland had adopted the religion of the kingdom which he sought to regain, there is no question, that the very formidable armament in His favour which had taken place, would have been eminently successful, and that the crown of Scotland would have once more adorned the brows of a monarch of the Royal House of Stuart. But, in opposition to this other-

wise reasonable expectation, a formidable party very early partook of the sentiments of the General Assembly, who invited a national humiliation "to avert the displeasure of Divine Providence, inasmuch as they were threatened with the invasion of a Popish Pretender to the throne of the united kingdoms, educated in Popish Bigotry and French Tyranny, which evidently tended to the utter overthrow of the true reformed religion both at home and abroad, and of all that ought to be dear to them as men and as Christians."—[Act of the Commission of the General Assembly for a fast, dated 11th August 1715.]

After this declaration, the majority of the Scottish nation prepared to act in opposition to the Rebellion, their watchword being, THE DEFENCE OF THEIR NATIONAL RELIGION.*

Notwithstanding, however, the failure of the Jacobites in 1715, the hopes of the friends of the Chevalier St George were not entirely extinguished. They long continued to cherish predilections for the restoration of parliaments in Scotland, under their ancient line of monarchy. Accordingly, new exertions were made in 1745, to render their cause triumphant; and Lancashire, in its turn, again became the scene of civil commotion.

It is needless to pursue the Scottish inquiry much farther. After the decisive event of the Battle of Culloden, the pretensions of the Royal House of Stuart were never afterwards revived; and, as a consequence, the Scottish and English kingdoms were drawn into a closer state of contact than ever. But so salutary an effect as this would have failed in its accomplishment, as long

* During the course of the last winter, the Rev. Thomas M'Crie (son of the celebrated biographer of Knox) gave a series of four discourses in Edinburgh on the History of the Church of Scotland. I am glad to find that these views so nearly correspond with the sentiments of the able lecturer, as reported by "The Scotsman." Mr M'Crie explained, that "the Rebellion of 1715 would have been successful, if the Pretender had adopted the religion of the land of his forefathers; that the devotion and loyalty of Scotland was unbounded towards the Stuarts, had their prudence and gratitude been capable of making a suitable return; but that their infatuation was blind to every sense of duty."

as hopes were allowed to subsist of a possible restoration of the ancient monarchy and parliaments of Scotland. As a security, therefore, against the renewal of Jacobite hostilities, a more than ordinary attention was excited towards the ancient laws and customs of the Highlands, by the instrumentality of which, the Rebellion had derived its chief strength and vigour. The result was, that an important amelioration took place in the usages of Scottish feudalism and clanship, by which the irresponsible and dangerous power of Chieftains received a formidable check, from which it never afterwards recovered.

RESULT OF BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH'S PATRIOTIC EFFORTS.

The Rebellion of 1715 was succeeded by a long period of national repose, in which Scotland had the opportunity afforded her, not only of improving her ancient laws and institutions, but likewise her natural resources. How gratifying is it, therefore, to record, that the gallant Highland Commander, whose Jacobite route we have so carefully traced step by step, was the individual who gave the earliest impulse to the national objects, which, at the present day, have called into existence "the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland." Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum was the Patriot, who, in his imprisonment within the walls of Edinburgh Castle, first drew the attention of Scotland to the leafless surface of her wild and rugged mountains, and to the miserable culture of her valleys of untried fertility. The work which he addressed to his countrymen was under the following title: "Essays on Ways and Means for Inclosing, Fallowing, Planting Scotland, &c., and that in sixteen years at farthest. By a Lover of his Country, [Mackintosh of Borlum]. Edinburgh, 1729, 8vo." This work, Mr David Laing informs me, "had the effect of introducing a spirit of improvement in the country, and the formation of a society for improving Agriculture."

[Of this volume, which I have not seen, an interesting account has been given me by Dr Neill, who remembers having met with it many years ago. I wish I could persuade my friend, who has rendered the same efficient service to the cause of Horticulture in Scotland, as Mackintosh of Borlum did to her Agriculture and Planting, to undertake an analysis of the work. The memory of so signalised a Benefactor of Scotland as this old Highland Chieftain proved himself to have been, has, I fear, been too much slighted.]

CHAPTER VI.

THE EFFECT PRODUCED IN ENGLAND, BUT MORE PARTICULARLY IN LANCASHIRE, BY THE DEFEAT OF JACOBITISM.

Disastrous as the whole of the rebel campaign is proved to have been, it has still afforded, in the consideration of its causes, an historical study, the importance of which cannot be rated too highly. Accordingly, in undertaking the publication of the documents relative to the Rebellion of 1715, which came under my review, I felt convinced, that some historical introduction was necessary, in order to render intelligible the incongruous incidents of so chequered a period, as well as to give precision to that state of parties, particularly in Lancashire, which induced the High Church Tories and the Roman Catholics to make common cause with the Scottish Presbyterians against the Whigs and the English Presbyterians. In fact, such a previous study became indispensable to the object of the present narrative, which was that of following the Insurgent army in its eventful course, and of judging how far it was calculated to render the cause of ancient Jacobitism triumphant.

That Jacobitism was perfectly unprosperous, the events of 1715 and 1745 have fully proved. Its success would have brought into imminent peril all the constitutional advantages derived from the Revolution of 1688, which had for its mission the reduction of Absolute Power, whether it existed in the temporal or spiritual departments of the State. As Jacobitism was directly opposed to such a result, its discomfiture was manifested after the following manner :

1st, In breaking up the ORIGINAL, or more ancient, distinctions of Whig and Tory, and in the gradual extinction of the principle, early inculcated, of the divine, absolute, and irresponsible right

of Kings to govern, and of the passive obedience and non-resistance of the subject;

2dly, In gradually breaking up the distinctions of High and Low Church, and in the extinction of the doctrine taught by the former, of an ecclesiastical power superior to Magna Charta itself, and to the laws of the land;—

And, 3dly, In confirming the Act of Toleration, and in thus softening down the asperities subsisting among members of the Establishment and Protestant Dissenters, as well as in encouraging a more kindly spirit of forbearance towards the scruples of Roman Catholics.

In these national advantages the County of Lancaster, which, for two centuries, or more, had been the seat of civil and religious anarchy, partook more than any other province in England.

An extensive series of details has at length been collected, which supplies a considerable blank in the records of Lancashire, at a most important period of its annals, which was immediately antecedent to the extraordinary stimulus which the commerce of this eminent County experienced during an early part of the last century,—a stimulus far greater than at any former date of its history. Upon the subsidence of political and religious turmoils, interrupted only by the very limited and subordinate movement of 1745,—which commotions were serious impediments to the advance of civilization,—habits of trading industry instantly took their place, which, for a century and more, continued progressive. Eventually, Lancashire has signalised itself above every other province in England for a prosperous career of commercial enterprise, to which all the resources and refinements of mechanical invention have imparted their invaluable aid.

INDEX.

Alnwick, Northumbrian force arrives at, 46; is joined there by John Hall, Esq., 222.

Anderton, Sir Francis, of Lostock, joins the Insurgents, 101; is escorted prisoner to London, 181; his trial and pardon, 224.

Anne, Queen, declares against the Church being in danger, 6.

Appleby, arrival of Insurgents at, who are there joined by one man only, a horse-stealer, 77; prayers read at, and public money collected, 79; some suspected spies detained, *ib.*; the Earl of Wharton's bailiff confined for his knowledge where the Excise money was lodged, *ib.*, &c. &c.

Argyll, Duke of, sent to command the forces in North Britain, 23; dares not attack Mackintosh at Leith, 38, 39; his movements in the North 65; prepares to meet Lord Kenmure's force, 68; gains possession of Perth, and pursues the Chevalier St George, in his flight to Montrose, 203.

Aynsley (or Ainslie) Mr, of Blackhill, joins the Insurgents at Jedburgh, 57; deserts them near Appleby, 78.

Bellingham, Madam, boxes the ears of her godson, General Forster, for being a Popish tool, p. 82.

Beaumont, John, engaged in the Northumbrian plots, 21; escapes from Liverpool or Chester, 166.

Beswicke, Charles, a Manchester high Church Tory, joins the Insurgents, 86; his escape after Preston Fight, and subsequent biography, 254.

Blakely, its meeting-house pulled down, 17.

Borderers, where posted at Preston, 124; under Douglas and Hunter keep up a destructive fire, 130; anecdotes of, 166.

Brampton, arrival there of the Insurgents, 65.

Brereton, Colonel, joins the Rebels, and is killed at Preston, 131; taken out of his grave to be identified, 158.

Bruce, Captain John, sentenced at Lancaster, 240; his last declaration and execution, 241 242.

Burnet, Archibald, of Carlops, Esq., his interview with Mr Forster at Hexham, 42; his execution at Liverpool, 202.

Butler, Richard, of Rawcliffe, joins the Insurgents, 91; is escorted to London, 181; dies in prison, 228. See also Pref., xvi.

Butler, Henry, father of Richard Butler, attached to the Jacobite cause, 91.

Buxton, Rev. Mr, engaged in the Northumbrian plot, 21; prays for James III. at Warkworth, 44; also for the same at Hexham, 47; made chaplain of the Rebel forces, and reads prayers at Kelso, 52; leaves Lancaster for Derbyshire, where he fell ill, and after Preston Fight was concealed, 96.

Calderwood, William, Quarter-master of the south country Scots, 41.

Canterbury, Archbishop of, his declaration against the Jacobites, and particularly the High Church Tories, in which he urges the interference of the Clergy, 66, 67; see also 150 and 260-265, where the declaration appears at length.

Carlisle, trials there of Scottish prisoners, 237, 238.

Carlisle, Bishop of, is active against the Rebels, 66; with his daughter, accompanies the Posse Comitatus to Penrith Fell, 73; takes flight, and is pursued by the Rebels, but the order countermanded, 75; the supper which he had ordered upon his intended arrival at Penrith is relished by the Rebel officers, 76.

Carpenter, General, prepares to attack the Insurgents near Hexham, 42; his movements on the Borders, 56. 58; had been reinforced, 60; at Jedburgh, *ib.*; returns to Newcastle, being embarrassed regarding the intentions of the Insurgents, 68; resolves to hasten after the Rebels from Newcastle, with his dragoons only, 80; arrives at Bernard Castle, 96, 103; sets out for Lancashire, 103; hastens from

Durham 7th Nov., 104; had been informed that the Rebels were advancing towards Lancaster, 108; was expected to reach Preston about the 12th or 13th of Nov. *ib.*; arrives before Preston on the 13th Nov., and takes the command of both his own and Wills's force, 136, 137; the amount of the united force, 137; his honourable conduct towards Wills, *ib.*; finds the horse and dragoons ill posted, and the Fishergate avenue, which had never been attacked, favourable to the escape of the Rebels, 138; completely invests the town, which treats for surrender, 138, 139; the hostages sent him, 143; enters Preston to receive his prisoners, 146; sets out for Wigan, 157.

Caruses, the, of Walton Hall, join the Insurgents, 84. See also Pref., xvi.

Carnwath, Earl of, supports Mar, 23; joins the south country Scots, 41, 42; his Tory principles, 43; sets out to Ecclefechan with a detachment intended to attack Dumfries, 60; is recalled, 64; rejoins the force with his detachment at Langtown, *ib.*; approves of the terms of capitulation at Preston, 145; pleads guilty before the House of Lords; receives sentence of death, but is reprieved, 212.

Charteris, Francis, Esq., dwelling at Hornby Castle, 86; his character so odious to the Scots, that his house is visited for a supply of provisions by the English, 87; his mean inhospitable conduct, *ib.*; at Lancaster advises throwing some gunpowder belonging to shopkeepers into a well, 93.

Chester, Rebel prisoners sent there, 165; some few escape, among whom are some north of England gentlemen, 166.

Chevalier St George. See James the Third of England, and Eighth of Scotland.

Chorley, Richard, of Chorley, Esq., joins the Insurgents, 101; falls ill at Wigan, and is retained in a prison at Lancashire, 166; his execution at Preston, 200; his estate sequestrated, 245.

Chorley, Charles, son of Richard Chorley, Esq., joins the Insurgents, 102; retained in a Lancashire prison, 166; dies in prison at Liverpool, 200.

Churchill, Colonel, sent by Carpenter into Preston to receive hostages, 143.

Chowbent, near Wigan, an armed force raised there against the Rebels, 116. See Woods, James.

Clarke, Peter, his account of the Rebel march, forming Parts III. and IV., 69-149; was clerk to a Kendal attorney, 81; conjectures on the cause of his following the rebel army, 83; withholds for a time information of Preston Fight, 111.

Clifton, Mr (brother of Sir Jervase Clifton), engaged in the Northumbrian plots, 21; is killed at Preston, 131, 132.

Coldstream, Merse troop musters there, 45.

Cotton, Mr John, of Cambridgeshire, accompanies the Rev. William Paul to Lancaster, 96. See also Pref., xxvi.

Cotton, Colonel, sent to receive an answer regarding the capitulation of the Insurgents at Preston, 142; receives pledges for the armistice, *ib.*; receives fresh assurances, 144.

Crow, Mr (an Aberdeen mathematician), executed at Lancaster, 201.

Cumberland, militia of, assemble at Penrith Fell, and run away, 73–75.

Dacre, Mr, of Abbeylanner Coast, promises reinforcements to the Insurgents, but falls ill, 66.

Dalton, John, of Thurnham, Esq., said to have joined the Rebels at Kirkby Lonsdale, 84; but most probably at Lancaster, 90; is escorted prisoner to London, 181; his trial and pardon, 225; disturbance regarding his sequestrated property, 245.

Dalziel, Captain James, brother to the Earl of Carnwarth, commands the Earl of Wintoun's troop, 43; sent by the Scots to treat for the terms of capitulation at Preston, 141; is tried by a Court-martial, 175; his successful plea, 176, 177.

Deacon, Dr, the Nonjuror, visits Hall and Paul in prison, and writes for them their last declarations, which they gave to the Sheriffs, 229, 230; character of his Nonjuring Church, 235, 236; subsequently settles in Manchester, 236; his noble-minded Jacobitism in 1745, 269; the Nonjuring Church, which he modelled in Manchester, described, 273, 274.

Derwentwater, Earl of, joins the Northumbrian insurrection, 25; first appears armed at Plainfield, 44; raises a troop of horse, 47; where lodged at Kendal, 81; sends 300 horse to defend the Ribble Bridge, but recalls them, 121; labours personally in fortifying Preston, 124; protects the Church Gate barrier, 125; reinforces Lord Charles Murray, 129, 130; consents to be a hostage at the capitulation of Preston, 144; indignant at being unsupported by the High Church Tories, 168-171; is conducted prisoner to London, 181; pleads guilty at his trial, 212; his execution, 213.

Dilston, the Northumbrian force halt there, 46.
Dormer, Brigadier, attacks the Windmill barricade, 132; is repulsed, 133.
Douglas, Captain Robert, commands a company of Borderers, 47; where posted at Preston, 124; his destructive fire, 130; escapes from prison, 166; his character as a Borderer, *ib.*
Drummond, Logie, his regiment, 35.
Drummond, James, Esq., his execution at Preston, 200.
Dumfries, in arms to oppose the Rebels, 41; menaced by the Rebels, 60, 61.
Dunse, Highlanders arrive at, 40.

Ecclefechan, south country Scots arrive at, 42; Earl of Carnwath's detachment sent there, 60; recalled, 64.
Edinburgh, Brigadier Mackintosh proceeds towards it, but marches to Leith, 38.
Errington, Thomas, of Beaufront, joins the Northumbrian insurrection, 26; commands Lord Widdrington's troop, 47.
Errington, Lancelot, takes Holy Island, 46; is made prisoner by a detachment from Berwick, 48; escapes, 49.
Erskine, Ensign, tried at Preston by a Court-martial, 175; his sentence, 177; his execution, 179.
Executioners, their sanguinary circuit through Lancashire, 197—202.

Farquharson, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, of Invercauld, sent to defend the Ribble Bridge, but recalled, 119.
Farquharson, Captain Peter, of Rochaley, his loyalty when mortally wounded, 131, 132.
Felton Bridge, the Merse troop placed there, 45, 46.
Fenton, the Rev. James, incumbent of Lancaster, has some arms taken from him, 93; his supposed feeling towards the Jacobite cause, 95; charged with oppressing the adherents to George I., 245.
Forbes, Major Nathaniel, his Highland regiment, 35.
Forrester, Lord, commands Preston's Foot, and attacks at Preston the Church Gate barrier, 125; gains possession of Sir Henry Houghton's and Mr Eyre's houses, 128, 129; is wounded, 131; receives the swords of the Insurgent officers, 146.
Forster, Thomas, of Etherton, Esq., heads the Northumbrian insurrection, 25; communicates with the south country Scots, 42; appears armed at Greenrig, 44; is styled General, *ib.*; his curious interview with a Merse officer, 45; his incompetency prejudged by Mackintosh, 50; Earl of Derwentwater's apology for giving him the chief command, *ib.*; at Hawick, 59; opens his commission of General, given him by the Earl of Mar, at Brompton, 65; boxed on the ears by Madam Bellingham for being a Popish tool, 82; his gross neglect at Preston, in not preparing for the advance of General Wills from Wigan, 105-107; refuses to make preparations of defence, 108, 109; incredulous of Wills's rumoured approach, 118; recalls the order to defend the Ribble Bridge, and perhaps improperly blamed for it, 119; his rupture with Brigadier Mackintosh, 126; refuses to dislodge the Government forces from the houses which they occupy, 128, 129; on the approach of night goes to bed, 133; declines calling a council of war, and sends Colonel Oxburgh to treat for a surrender, 139; his life threatened in consequence, 141; consents to a surrender, 145; most ill-used while escorted to London, 182–184; his escape from Newgate, 214, 215; bill of attainder against him, 226.
Forth, Frith of, crossing by the Highlanders, 38.

Garstang, arrival there of the Rebel forces, 99; executions at, 201.
Gascoigne, Richard, Esq., joins the insurgents, 102; his trial and condemnation, 222, 223; his declaration at the scaffold, 223, 224.
George I. ascends the throne, and dismisses the Tory ministry, 4; protects the Toleration Act, 16; announces the Rebellion, 21; remonstrates against the High Church party, 30, 205.
Graham, Sir James, a prisoner at Carlisle, 78; negotiations for his liberation, 79.
Green-Acres, Sacheverell mob at, 17.

Haddington, Highlanders arrive at, 38.
Hall, John, of Otterburn, Esq., Justice of Peace, joins the Northumbrian insurrection, 26; his extravagant conduct at Alnwick, 222; his trial, *ib.*; his execution, 227; the declaration delivered by him to the Sheriffs, 229, 232-234.
Hamilton, Duke of, at the head of the Scottish Jacobites, 2.
Hamilton, Hon. Basil, of Baldoun, commands Lord Kenmure's troop, 43; led prisoner to London, 184.
Hawick, south country Scots arrive at, 42; the united Rebel forces march there,

58; mutiny there, *ib.*; false alarm there, 59.
Hesketh, Gabriel and Cuthbert, join the Insurgents, 102.
Hexham, Northumbrian force arrives at, and is here organised, 46-48.
High Church Tories, their history as a party previous to the Rebellion, see Introd. Inq., 31-46, also 47-50; ingratiate themselves with Queen Anne, 2; too weak to oppose the Hanoverian succession, 3; out of favour with George I., 4; their excitements on the plea of "the Church being in danger," 5-19; propose at Manchester to join the Insurgents, 26, 27; scandals against them for tavern convivialities, 28, 29; censured by George I., 30, 205; promise great succour to the Insurgents on reaching Lancashire, 62; the failure of their promise, and the indignation of the Roman Catholics and Highlanders, in not being joined by them, 90; considered responsible for the blood shed in the Rebellion, 150; accused of displaying a sort of wine-created valour, which is absurd, 172; taunted by the Highlanders for deserting their cause, 182; their declining influence, 205-208; their false position during the Rebellion, 259-269; state of their party subsequently to the Rebellion, 270-275.
Highland clans, detachment of, under Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, ordered by the Earl of Mar to cross the Frith to support the Northumbrian force, 34; the regiments, and number forming the detachment, 35, 36; their costume, mode of fighting, &c., 36, 37; plunder the seat of the Earl of Rothes, 37; a great portion of the detachment enabled, in the face of the Government cruisers, to cross the Frith, 37, 38; march to Haddington and Tranent, 38; appear before Edinburgh, and then capture Leith, 39; march to Musselburgh and Seaton House, *ib.*; cause the Government troops to retire, *ib.*; march to Longformacus, Dunse, and Kelso, 40; mutiny on being ordered to England, 58; are appeased by Brigadier Mackintosh, 59; great desertion of them at Langholm on being ordered to England, 62, 63; more punctually paid, 65; shoot rabbits at Whinfield Park, 77; rely at Appleby on the support of the High Church party, 79; their conduct at Kendal to a Quaker, for being uncovered durthe reading of the proclamation, 81; break into Kendal Church for arms, but refuse to take away the Church plate, 82; cheered, near Lancaster, with news brought them of a rising at Manchester, 85; disappointed in not being joined by the High Church Tories, 90; employed to search for arms at Lancaster, 92; commended at Lancaster for their great civility, 97; their mode of fighting, as explained by the Brigadier, and their aversion to horse and cannon, 120; their brave conduct during Preston Fight, 125-133; when surrounded, determined to sally out, and die sword in hand, 139; indignant at the idea of a surrender, 141; are made prisoners, 158; complain of being deserted by the High Church Tories, 171, 182; formidable to the London cockneys, 184, 185; their bravery, 255.
Highland war-signal, the Rebel clans summoned to arms by the symbol of the fiery cross, 33.
Highlanders under the Earl of Mar, 34; are dispirited at the result of Preston Fight, and return to their homes, 156; their conduct at Sheriffmuir, 155, 156; their Jacobite zeal much cooled down, 189, 190; abandon Perth, and retreat before Argyll's force, 203, 204; after being forsaken by the Earl of Mar and the Chevalier St George, disperse themselves and seek for safety by flight, 204.
Hilton, Mr, near Cartmell, said to have joined the Insurgents, 91; but the name probably mistaken for that of Walton, *ib.*
Hodgson, Albert, Esq., of Leighton Hall, joins the Insurgents, 89, 90.
Holy Island, taken by Mr Lancelot Errington, 46; retaken by the Governor of Berwick, 48.
Honeywood, Brigadier, attacks the Church Gate barrier at Preston, 125, 126; the advantage which he possessed from the houses which he occupied, 130; is wounded, 131; fires platoons during the night with some little effect, 138; enters Preston to receive the arms of the Insurgents, 146.
Hopkins, Christopher, imprisoned as a spy at Lancaster, 93; released, 99.
Hornby Castle visited by the Rebels for provisions, &c., 86, 87.
Hotham, General, his regiment of foot enters Newcastle, 44, 45.
Houghton, Sir Henry, proposes to defend Lancaster against the Rebels, 87; his ineffectual remonstrance with Lawson, a Quaker, to give up six ship guns for this purpose, 87, 88; retreats to Preston on approach of the Rebels, 88; his request to a Presbyterian Pastor of Chowbent

for the armed support of his neighbours, 116, 117; his house at Preston alternately occupied by the Rebels, and the Government forces, 127-130.
Hume, Hon. James, commands a Merse troop, 42, 43; march of the same to Coldstream, Wooler, and Felton, where it is joined by the East Lothian Gentlemen, 44 46.
Hunter, Captain John, of North Tyne, commands a troop of Borderers in the Northumbrian force, 46, 47; had previously run contraband goods, 47; ordered to go to Tynedale to prepare quarters, 58; his post at Preston near the Church Gate barrier, 124; his destructive fire, 130; his escape out of prison, 166; his notoriety as a Borderer, *ib.*

Indemnity, general, proclaimed, 253.
Independents, their lampoon on the religious feuds going on, 173, 174.
Irvine, William, Rev., a Non-juror, preaches at Kelso, 52.

Jacobites, English. For their history as a party, see Tories, High Church Tories, and Roman Catholics, given in the Introd. Inq., as well as in the body of the work; their plots in England, 20; their disaffections in various localities of England, 24-30.
Jacobites, Scottish. For their previous history as a party, see Introd. Inq., 50-54; declare against the Union, and for the ancient sovereignty of Scotland, 1; their plots, 20; they break out in rebellion, 22-24; their views explained in a manifesto published at Kelso, 53, 54; their object lost by the flight of the Chevalier from Montrose, 203, 204; the state of their party subsequently to the Rebellion, 277-280.
Jacobitism, the object towards which Toryism, as a party principle, is directed, Introd. Inq., 56.
James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland, his standard set up at Kirkmichael, 24; proclaimed at Dunse, 40; at Lochmaben, 41; at Hawick, 42; prayed for at Warkworth, 44; prayed for and proclaimed at Cornhill, 45; at Hexham, 47, 48; at Kelso, 52-53; proclaimed at Brampton, 65; at Appleby, 79; at Kendal, 81; at Kirkby Lonsdale, 84; at Lancaster, 89; prayed for and proclaimed at Preston, 100; the Chevalier lands in Scotland, 189, 190; in a vessel from Montrose he quits Scotland, 204.
Jedburgh, Rebels arrive at, 57; disturbed by a false alarm, *ib.*; a council of war held there, 58.
Juries, London, their unwillingness to convict, 221.

Kelso, arrival of the Insurgents at, 40, 42, 50; divine service attended by the whole of the confederate force, though of different persuasions, 51, 52; James the Eighth proclaimed, 53; Scottish manifesto read, 54; country around foraged, 55, 56; council of war, where distracted opinions prevail, 57.
Kendal, arrival at, 80; James the Third of England proclaimed, 81; the Lords, where lodged, *ib.*; Excise enforced, *ib.*; mayor in custody for concealing arms, but soon released, 81, 82; gunsmiths employed, 82; Rebels much dispirited on finding no recruits nor arms, 82, 83.
Kenmure, Viscount, commands the south country Scots, 40-42; his standard wrought by Lady Kenmure, 41; his character, 43; holds the chief command while in Scotland, 51; at Kelso calls a council of war, 56; at Preston protects the Church Gate barrier, 125; refuses to be a hostage, 143; is tried before the Lords, pleads guilty, and is executed, 212, 213.
Kirkby Lonsdale, arrival at, &c.; Rebels are here joined by a few recruits, 84.
Kirkmichael, Scotland, standard first set up there, 24.

Lancashire, the state of its parties before the Rebellion, see Introd. Inq., 1-58; likewise after the Rebellion, see Part VII., 257-282.
Lancaster, no preparations against the Rebels, 85; proposed demolition of the bridge, 87, 88; Rebels proclaim James the Third, 89; Crown prisoners set at liberty, 91, 92; search after arms, 92, 93; gunsmiths employed, 93; arms seized, *ib.*; reward for taking a Government spy, *ib.*; Customhouse visited, 94; ship guns from Sunderland taken, *ib.*; name of George the First erased in the Prayer Book, and that of James the Third substituted, 95; Lancaster sociability, 96; new postmaster appointed by the Rebels, 97; discourse about religion, *ib.*; Rebels leave with reluctance, *ib.*; impolicy of quitting the town, 98; Rebel prisoners sent there, 164; executions at, 201; state of the prisoners, 238, 239; fresh executions there, 239-242.
Langholm, arrival at, of the south country

Scots, 42; arrival of the whole Rebel force, 59; much distraction of councils there, but resolve to go to Lancashire, when many Highlanders desert, 59-63.
Leith taken and occupied by the Highlanders, from which place Argyll is braved, 38, 39.
Leyburne, John, of Natsby, joins the Insurgents, 102.
Littleton, Rev. Mr, a Roman Catholic priest, escapes at Preston, 159.
Liverpool, a Whig town, and petitions against the Tory Ministry, 4; defends itself against the Rebels, 98, 99; Rebels tried there, and sentenced, 190-197; executions at, 201, 202.
Lockhart, Captain Philip, commands a troop of south country Scots, 43; tried at Preston by a court-martial, 175; his plea, 178; his execution, 178-181.
Lochmaben, south country Scots arrive there, and set up a standard, 41.
Longformacus, Highlanders arrive there, 40.
Longtown, arrival at, of the governor of Carlisle, who retires before the Rebels appear there, 64, 65.
Lonsdale, Lord, heads the Posse Comitatus, 66; retreats from Penrith Fell, 73, 74; flies to Appleby Castle, 76, 77.
Lothian, East, some gentlemen of this county join the rebels, 46.
Low Church, its distinguishing principles. See Introd. Inq., 43-47.
Lowther Hall visited by the Insurgents, 76, 77.

Mackintosh, Brigadier, Laird of Borlum, organizes Colonel Mackintosh's regiment, 34; his military character, 36; commands the Highland detachment sent to the south, *ib.;* crosses the Frith of Forth, 37, 38; his march to Haddington, Tranent, Jock's Lodge, near Edinburgh, Leith, Musselburgh, Seaton House, Longformacus, Dunse, and Kelso, 38-40; charged with taking away the purse of a gentleman shot by mistake, 39; his dissatisfaction on first seeing Forster, 50; collects the revenues of Excise, 54, 55; forages about Kelso, 55; accused, perhaps unfairly, of a love of plunder, &c., 55, 56, 149; supports the Earl of Wintoun's military plans, 56; recommends a speedy engagement with the Government troops, 57, 61; tries to stop the desertion of the Highlanders, 62, 63; consents to march to England, 63; his appearance at Kendal described, 80, 82; his plan of fortifying Preston, 119-121, 134-136; his gallant defence of the Church Gate barrier, and altercation with Forster, 124-127; writes to the Earl of Mar under hopes of a victory, 136, 156; encourages the Highlanders to resist the proposal of a surrender, 142: refuses to be a hostage, 143; visits the Lords when prisoner at Wigan, 167-170; led prisoner to London, 184; his escape from Newgate, 215, 216; ballad of "M'Intosh's Farewell to the Highlands," 216-218; bill of attainder against him, 226; eventually returns to Scotland, and ends his days in Edinburgh Castle, 254-256; his patriotic efforts on behalf of Scottish agriculture and planting, 256, 280.
Mackintosh, Colonel, kinsman of the Brigadier, raises a Highland regiment, 34-36; which crosses the Frith entire, 38; he commands at Preston the Windmill barrier, 124; his brave defence when attacked, 132, 133; consents to be a hostage, 144; his altercation with General Wills, 146.
Maclean, Captain, and his volunteers, occupy Sir Henry Houghton's house at Preston, but ordered by Forster to abandon it, 128.
Manchester chief seat of Lancashire Toryism, 4; Sacheverell mobs there, who destroy the Meeting-house, 16-19; High Church Tories there propose to join the Insurgents, 26, 27; their tavern excitements and convivialities, 28, 29; their promises of an immense Rebel force, 62; reported to have proclaimed James the Third, and to have raised a troop of fifty men, 85; preparations to defend the town by General Wills, 104; left to the care of Newton's Foot, *ib.;* many influential Tories secured, *ib.;* executions at, 201.
Manchester, Mob Colonel and Captain of, 16; pilloried and imprisoned at Lancaster, 19; set at liberty by the Rebels, 92; the Mob Captain, Siddall, executed, 201.
Mar, Earl of, chief exciter of the Scottish Rebellion, 22; explains in the Highlands the Jacobite views, 23; gains over several noblemen to the cause, *ib.;* sets up a standard at Kirkmichael for James the Eighth of Scotland, 24; sends out a force to aid the rising on the Scottish Borders, 34-36; his ruse to divert Argyll from attacking Brigadier Mackintosh, 39; orders the Highland detachment to march south for England, there to support the Northumbrians, 40; writes about the state of his forces, 56; his con-

dition at Perth, 65; more inclined that Forster's forces should assist him in the Highlands, 65; risks the Battle of Sheriffmuir, 155; his precarious situation at Perth, 189, 190; accompanies James the Eighth to the Continent, 204.
Marlborough, Duke of, supplanted by the Duke of Ormond, 3; well received by George the First, 4; plans the general operations against the Rebels, 103; foresees that they will be met with at Preston, 110.
Menzies, James, of Culdare, his trial, 226.
Merse officer, in the Hon. James Hume's Merse troop, writes a military journal. See List of Works, &c., xiii.; his curious interview with Forster, 45, 46; recommends the battering down of Sir Henry Houghton's house, but refused by Forster, 129; after the capitulation, transmits to Scotland his journal, 146.
Miller, Major, his command at Preston of the Fishergate barrier, 124.
Moffat, south country Scots muster at, 41.
Moncaster, Roger. See Muncaster.
Monton Presbyterian Chapel, Sacheverell mob attack, 17.
Morpeth, Northumbrian Insurgents arrive at, 46.
Muncaster, Roger, an attorney of Garstang, joins the Rebels, 99; his last declaration and execution at Preston, 198-200.
Munden, Brigadier, his attack on the Windmill barricade, 132.
Murray, Lord Charles, his regiment, 35; shares all fatigues with his Highlanders, 37; commands a barrier at Preston, 124; firmly repels the attack made upon him, 129; gallantly resists another attack, 130, 131; sentenced by court-martial at Preston, 175; his plea and resignation, 176; is reprieved, *ib.*
Musselburgh, Highlanders arrive at, 39.

Nairn, Lord, his regiment 35; a great part crosses the Forth, 38; vainly intercedes for the release of Sir James Graham from Carlisle, 79; pleads guilty before the House of Lords and is reprieved, 212.
Nairn, Major, tried by a court-martial at Preston, 175; his plea, 178; his execution 178-181.
Nassau, Colonel, sent by Wills to treat with the Insurgents, and to receive hostages, 143; dispatched to London to report the event of Preston, Fight, 154; returns to Preston with a commission for a court-martial to be held there, 163.
Newcastle threatened by the Northumbrian force, 44, 46; defended by the Magistrates, gentry, Presbyterians, &c., 47.
Nithsdale, Earl of, gives his support to the Earl of Mar, 23; joins the south country Scots, 41; defends the Church Gate barrier, 125; is condemned, but escapes from the tower, 212, 213.
Non-jurors, for an explanation of their principles see High Church Tories in the Introd. Inq., 31-50; their church described, 235, 236; act to secure the allegiance of all Non-juring persons by a register of their estates, 243; the church which they founded in Manchester, 273, 274.
Northumbrians; their early Jacobite plots, 21; their rising, 25; request Mar to send support to the force which they are raising, 34; their mounted force meets at Plainfield, 44; invite Brigadier Mackintosh to meet them on the border, 40; march to Rothbury and to Warkworth, and are joined at Felton by the Merse troop, 44-46; march to Alnwick, Morpeth, and Hexham, 46, 47; at Dilston, learn that Newcastle is arming against them, and return to Hexham *ib.*; their force of five troops described, 47, 48; join the south country Scots at Rothbury, 48; march to Wooler and Kelso, where they meet the Highlanders at Ednam Bridge, 48-51.

Ogilvie, Captain, wounded at the Windmill barrier, 133.
Ormond, Duke of, supplants the Duke of Marlborough, 3; is neglected by George the First, and seeks a refuge abroad from state prosecutions, 4.
Oxburgh, Colonel, promotes the Jacobite cause in Northumberland, 21; prevents depredations at Lowther Hall, 77; commands the foraging party who visit Hornby Castle, 87; sent by Forster to treat for a surrender, 139; his conference with Wills, 140; is the military adviser of Lord Widdrington, 168; his trial, last declaration, and execution, 218, 219; his head set on Temple-Bar, which excites popular indignation, 220, 221.
Oxford, Earl of, his Tory measures, 3; is dismissed from the ministry, and becomes the object of a state prosecution, 4.

Patten, the Rev. Robert, of Allendale, Northumberland, his journal, see list of Works, &c., vii.; joins the Northumbrian force, 43, 49; made chaplain to General Forster, and preaches at Kelso, 52; ordered with an armed force to pursue the Bishop of Carlisle, and to collect the salt-tax, 75

reads prayers at Kirkby Lonsdale, and dines with the Insurgent noblemen, 84; aids Lord Charles Murray in repelling an attack on his barrier, 130; ill usage of him when escorted to London, 182–4; admitted as King's evidence, 211.
Paul, Rev. William, joins the Rebels at Lancaster, and reads prayers, 95 ; his parentage, education, &c., 96; sets out for Staffordshire, 118; his trial, 226; his depressed state, 229; his execution, 227; his Non-juring declaration, which is attributed to the authorship of Dr Deacon, 228-232.
Penrith Fell, Militia of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and Posse Comitatus, dare not face the Insurgents, and run away, 73-75.
Penrith, arrival of rebels at, 75, 76; James the Third proclaimed, 75; Presbyterian meeting-house threatened, but preserved by Forster, 76 ; Insurgents behave in the town with great propriety, *ib.*
Peploe, Rev. Samuel, persists at Preston in reading prayers for King George and the Royal family, 100; rewarded for his loyalty and courage, 246.
Pitt, Colonel, posted by General Carpenter near the Fishgate avenue, 138.
Plainfield, mustering place of the Northumbrian force, 44.
Presbyterians, their history as a party before the Rebellion. See Introd. Inq., 17-22; opposed by the High Church Tories, 7-9; their meeting-houses pulled down by Sacheverell mobs, 14, 16-19; arm at Newcastle against the Insurgents, 47; their meeting-house at Penrith threatened by the High Church Jacobites, 76; are invited to arm against the rebels of Preston, 116; their rising at Chowbent, 116 118; their state as a party subsequent to the Rebellion, 275, 276.
Preston, Captain, of Preston's Foot, mortally wounded, 131.
Preston, Insurgents arrive at, 99, 100; James the Third proclaimed, 100; Scots and English distinguished by cockades, 100; conjecture of the number of Rebels, 103, 112; inactivity of the Insurgents, 105-107; who are "courting and feasting," 107-110; plan of Preston, under siege, fronting 113; projected attack, 123; how defended by barriers, trenches, ship guns, &c., 124-127; houses and barns fired by Honeywood's party, 127; Sir Henry Houghton's and Mr Eyre's houses alternately occupied by the Rebels and government troops, 127-130; Lord Charles Murray's brave and successful defence of his barrier, 130; loss sustained in these attacks, 131; the Windmill barrier successfully defended, 132 ; houses, &c., burnt, and firing kept up during the night, 133; the posts visited by Wills before daybreak, 134; escape of many newly-joined Rebels, 134 ; the town completely surrounded by Carpenter, 137; cessation of arms, 138; slight actions on the approach of Carpenter, 139 ; rebels contrive to escape, *ib.*; treaty for surrender, with great anarchy among the Scottish and English Insurgents, 139-142; an armistice, and infraction of it, 142, 143; hostages required, and the Rebels surrender at discretion, 143-147 ; the dissentients, on account of the hostages sent in, are appeased by Mackintosh, 145; the numbers killed and wounded, 147, 148; the town plundered by the king's troops, 149; the contradictory accounts published of the engagement, 153, 154; the Earl of Mar's forces dispirited by the intelligence, 156; burial of the slain, 157; disposal of the prisoners at Preston, 158; escape of many of them, 159; preparations for a court-martial at Preston, 163, 164; removal of the prisoners from Preston, and whither, 164-166; a court-martial held, and four officers shot, 175-181; execution of five Rebels, 198-200 ; also of seven more, 200.
Prisoners, Insurgent, lay down their arms at Preston, 146; the different ranks of them, how lodged, 146, 147 ; numbers taken, 147 ; how disposed of at Preston, 158; many escape from Preston, 159; names of chief prisoners, 159-163 ; their transfer to various prisons 163-166 ; arrival of chief prisoners, at Coventry, 181; at Daventry, St Albans, Barnet, Highgate, with the indignities which they suffered, 182-185; calumniated as cruel and merciless, 184, 185; the prisons in London to which they are led, 185; names of the prisoners in London, 186, 187; lampooned, 187-189; the prisoners who were tried and sentenced at Liverpool, or who petitioned for transportation, 190-195; treatment of them at Liverpool, 197; incidents occurring to the prisoners sent to London, including their trials, escapes, sentences, executions, liberations, deaths in prison, unwillingness in juries to convict, &c., &c., 211-228; clemency shewn to Rebel prisoners in Scotland, and reasons for it, with their trials at Carlisle, 237, 238, 242 ; the great mass of the Lancashire prisoners trans-

ported to the colonies, except five who were executed at Lancaster, 238-240.

Radcliffe, Charles, Esq., brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, joins the Insurgents, and commands a troop, 47; anxious at Preston to force a way through the enemy, 145; escapes prison at London, 228.
Ribble Bridge, its defence abandoned by the Rebels 119-121; Wills crosses it, 122.
Roman Catholics, their state as a party previous to the Rebellion. See Introd. Enq., 23-31; take part in the insurrection, 29, 30; many of them secured at Carlisle, 78; indignant at the failure of the High Church support which had been promised them, 90; join in numbers at Preston, many of them being of influence, 100; complain of having been deserted by the High Church Tories, 171; act to secure their allegiance by a register of their estates, 243; state of their party subsequently to the rebellion, 276-277.
Rothbury, the Northumbrian force from Plainfield arrive there, 44; the south country Scots arrive there to form a junction with the Northumbrians, 42.

Sacheverell, his sentiments on "the Church being in danger," the riots in consequence, and the State prosecutions against him, 9-16; the Sacheverell mobs in Lancashire, and other places, 16-18; suppressed by Government, 18, 19.
Salkeld, Roger, Esq. of Cumberland, escapes from Chester prison, 165.
Sanderson, William, of High Lee, Northumberland, escapes from Chester prison, 165.
Scots, south country, their rising under Viscount Kenmure, 40; assemble at Moffat; thence proceed to Lochmaben, where they set up the standard of James the Eighth of Scotland, and proclaim him, 41; and to Ecclefechan, Langholm, Hawick, Jedburgh, Rothbury, Wooler, and Kelso, where they distribute the force into troops, and join Mackintosh's Highlanders, 42, 43.
Seaton House occupied and fortified by the Highlanders, 39, 40.
Selby, Mr, of Northumberland, taken prisoner by the Rebels, 50.
Sequestrations of the estates of Rebels, and losses during the Rebellion refunded from them, 244, 245; the confusion caused thereby, 245.
Shaftoes of Northumberland, many of them join the Insurgents, 26.
Shaftoe, Captain John, appointed to the Earl of Derwentwater's troop, 47; tried by a court-martial at Preston, 175; his execution, 178-181.
Sheriff, High. at Liverpool, his charges incidental to the trials there, 196-202.
Sheriffmuir, indecisive battle of, 155, 156.
Shrewsbury, Sacheverell mob at, 17, 18.
Shuttleworth, Cornet, in endeavouring to escape at Preston, is cut to pieces, 143.
Shuttleworth, Richard, Gent., joins the Rebels at Preston, 101; his execution, 198.
Siddall, Thomas, the mob captain of Manchester, heads the Sacheverell mob who pull down the Presbyterian meeting-houses, 16; pilloried and imprisoned at Lancaster, 19; set at liberty by the Rebels, along with "the Mob Colonel," at Lancaster, 92; joins the Insurgents, *ib.*; his execution at Manchester, 201.
Standish, Ralph, Esq. of Standish, joins the Insurgents at Preston, 102; is escorted prisoner to London, 181; is liberated, 227.
Stanhope's Dragoons retreat from Preston upon the advance of the Rebels, 99.
Stanwix, governor of Carlisle, watches the movements of the Insurgents near Longtown, 64; his account of the result of Preston fight, 153.
Strathmore, Earl of, his Highland regiment ordered to the south, 35; cannot cross the Frith, and returns to Fife with difficulty, 38.

Talbot, Mr James, engages in the Northumbrian plots, 21.
Talbot, James, Esq. of Cartington, Northumberland, escapes from the prison at Chester, 165.
Tennyson, Dr. See Canterbury, Archbishop of.
Thornburrow, Francis, gentleman, of Selset Hall, near Kendal, joins the Insurgents, 80; escapes from Wigan in female apparel, 164.
Tildesley, Edward, Esq. of the Lodge, joins the Insurgents, 89, 91; his trial at London, 221; is acquitted, and the jury censured, *ib.*
Toryism, its origin, history, principles, and distinctions defined. See Introd. Inq., 1-16, 56, 57; see also High Church Tories.
Tranent, Highlanders arrive at, 38.
Townley, Richard, of Townley, Esq., joins the Insurgents at Preston, 101; escorted prisoner to London, 181; his acquittal, for which the jury is censured, 221.
Tunstall, William, Esq. tried, 225;

Walker, Mr, the Rev., a Presbyterian pastor, co-operates with the Rev. James Wood, 117, 118, 139, 246, 247, 253.

Walton, Thomas, of Winder, joins the Insurgents, 91.
Warkworth occupied by the Northumbrian force, 44-46.
Warrington, Sacheverell excitement at, 17; intended to be occupied by the Insurgents as the key to Liverpool, 98; the militia of Chester sent there, 104; preparations by General Wills to defend the bridge, *ib.*; chief Rebel prisoners escorted through the town, 181.
Westmoreland, militia of, run away from the Rebels, 73-75.
Whigs, their history and principles described, Introd. Inq., 1-6.
Widdrington, Lord, joins the Northumbrian Insurgents, 25; visits Manchester to enlist the High Church Tories, 27; appears in arms, 44; his conference with a Merse officer at Warkworth, 45; raises a troop, 47; urges at Langholm a march to Lancashire, 62; presses Forster to capitulate, 139; praises the terms of capitulation, 145; delivers up his sword, 146; traits of his character, 168; takes Mackintosh to task for his defence of Preston, 169; his trial, pleads guilty, but is reprieved, 212; his property confiscated, 245.
Widdrington, Charles, brings the news to the Insurgents of the Jacobite spirit in Manchester, 85.
Wigan, arrival at, of the chief prisoners, some of whom escape, 164; conversation there of some of the Rebel chiefs, 167-169; executions at, 201.
Wills, General, the forces under his command at Chester, 104; his instructions to protect the passage over the Mersey at Warrington, in case of an advance of the Rebels towards Manchester, Liverpool, &c., 104; his measures to defend Warrington and Manchester, 105; arrives at Wigan, 106; is joined by several regiments, and resolves to advance towards Preston, 108; marches his forces from Wigan, and how marshalled, 115; accepts the services of Rev. Mr Wood and Mr Walker to raise forces for him, 116-118; arrives at Walton-le-Dale, near the Ribble Bridge, 121, 122; assigns a station to the Presbyterian pastors, 122; prepares for the attack on Preston, *ib.*; his proposed mode of attack, 123; his attendant dragoon being shot, he gives no summons of surrender, 125; neglects to block up the Fishergate avenue which led to Liverpool, 134; makes too favourable a report to General Carpenter, upon his arrival, of the progress of the siege, 137; his conference with Colonel Oxburgh for a surrender, 140; his conference with Captain Dalziel, 141; his altercation with Colonel Mackintosh, 144; his harshness towards the Rebels, 145; enters Preston to receive the prisoners, 146; throws a shade over General Carpenter's services, 154; gives order for the execution of the four Rebel officers tried by court-martial, 177, 178.
Wintoun, Earl of, leaves Seaton House, and joins the Rebel division of the south country Scots, 41, 42; raises a troop, 43; recommends assistance being given to Mar in Scotland, 56, 57; promotes the disaffection of the Highlanders towards being sent to England, 58; urges a descent upon Dumfries, 61; dissatisfied at going to England, and takes his leave, 62; rejoins the Insurgents, 65; is much slighted by the other officers, 78; protects the Church Gate barrier at Preston, 125; his trial, is condemned, but escapes from the Tower, 213.
Wogan, Captain Nicholas, engaged in the Northumbrian plots, 21; his post at Preston, 125; the post not tenable, 126; his exemplary care of Captain Preston when wounded, 131; is pardoned by the Government, 227.
Wogan, Charles, in the Northumbrian plots, 21; escapes from Newgate, 215.
Woods, Rev. James, Presbyterian pastor of Chowbent, invited by Sir Henry Houghton and General Wills to raise an armed force, among his neighbours, 116, 117; prevents any further aid being sent to the rebels, 118; defends the ford from Penwortham to Preston, 122; greatly praised for his services by Wills, 139; is rewarded with an annuity, 246, 247; his biography, 248-252.
Wooler, south country Scots arrive at, 42; the Merse troop proclaims there James the Eighth, 45; united rebel forces arrive there, 48.

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